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THE ART OF DYING WELL

The Development of the Ars moriendi

By SISTER MARY CATHARINE O'CONNOR



COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS, NEW YORK

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*Foreign agents: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, Humphrey
Milford, Amen House, London, E.C. 4, England, AND B. I.
Building, Nicol Road, Bombay, India.*

Manufactured in the United States of America

DEDICATED TO
SAINT THOMAS MORE
WHO KNEW BETTER THAN MOST
THE ART OF DYING

435768

FOREWORD

THE NEED for the study of a book like the *Ars moriendi*, so popular in its own period and so much sought after today as a collectors' item, is made sufficiently clear, I trust, in the pages that follow. There is left for me now only the agreeable duty of acknowledging the help which I have received.

My first and greatest obligation is to Reverend Mother M. Elenita and the Sisters of Charity of Convent, New Jersey, and especially to Mother Maria Concilio, who made it possible for me to do most of the work entailed. I wish to thank also the Most Reverend Thomas H. McLaughlin, S.T.D., LL.D., Bishop of Paterson, and the Reverend Lalor McLaughlin, Professor of Philosophy at the College of St. Elizabeth, for their constant interest and encouragement.

For the suggestion that I undertake a study of the *Ars moriendi* I am indebted to Professor Harry Morgan Ayres of the English Department at Columbia, and I have carried it on, from beginning to end, under his gracious supervision. To Professor Ayres, to Professor Oscar James Campbell and Professor Roger Sherman Loomis, and to other members of the English Department, also to the members of other departments who likewise read the manuscript and gave useful suggestions, I am deeply grateful.

My thanks are due also to Professor Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, of the School of Library Service at Columbia University, who gave me generously of his time and distinguished scholarship; to Miss Belle da Costa Greene and Miss Meta Harrsen of the Pierpont Morgan Library, who let me have access to the unsurpassed collection of beautiful fifteenth and sixteenth-century books which have contributed to this study much of its luster — if any luster is to be found in it; to Miss Margaret Daniels and the other members of the staff of the Print Room of the Metropolitan Museum of Art; to Mr. Karl Küp, curator of the Spencer Collection of the New York Library, as well as the curators of other special collections; to Dr. Giles E. Dawson, of the Folger Shakespeare Library, Miss Mary C. Withington, of the Yale Library, Mr. Otto Kinkeldey and Mr. E. R. B. Willis, of the Cornell

Library, Mrs. William B. Allen, of the Harvard Library, Miss Jean Macalister, of the Columbia University Library, the Reverend Mark J. Kennedy and Frater Edward A. McGuire, O.F.M., of Holy Name College, Washington, the Reverend William W. Rockwell, D.D., of the Union Theological Seminary Library, Mr. Ernest Detterer, of the Newberry Library, Mr. Arthur A. Houghton, Jr., of the Library of Congress, and Mr. Valta Palmer formerly of the same library, the Reverend A. J. Denomy, C.S.B., of the Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Toronto, Mr. G. R. Lomer, of the Redpath Library, McGill University, and the Reverend J. W. Falconer, D.D., of the Pine Hill Theological Seminary Library, Halifax. I wish also to thank the staffs of these libraries and those of Princeton, Drew, and the University of Chicago for the privileges given me when I visited them.

Other curators and librarians to whom I am indebted are: Mr. Herman R. Mead and Mr. R. B. Haselden, of the Henry E. Huntington Library; Mr. Paul R. Byrne, of Notre Dame University Library; Mr. Henry Guppy, of the John Rylands Library, Manchester; Mr. C. E. Wright and Mr. W. Simmonds, of the British Museum; Mr. J. G. Philip, Mr. W. O. Hassall, and Mr. E. Lobel, of the Bodleian Library, Oxford; M. G. Arcizas, of the Bibliothèque de la Ville de Toulouse; M. Jean Lailler, of the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris; M. Paul Plantain, of the Bibliothèque Municipale, Cambrai; M. Pierre Héliot, of the Bibliothèque de la Ville de Boulogne-sur-Mer; Dr. Hermann Knaus, of the Stadtbibliothek, Trier; Dr. Ludwig Denecke, of the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin; Dr. W. L. Forrer, of the Zentralbibliothek, Zürich; Professor Ottorino Triessi, of the Biblioteca Comunale di Poppi; and Right Reverend Monsignor Anselmo M. Albareda, of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

Lastly, I wish to thank Dr. Carl Selmer, of Hunter College, for his interest in my investigation; Mr. Robert Garrett, of Baltimore, for his kindness in sending valuable manuscripts from his own collection to the Princeton Library so that they might be available to me; Miss Helen Purcell for performing the arduous task of typing the manuscript; and, most of all, Miss Mary Rose Farrell for aiding my work in important ways far too numerous and too varied to mention.

College of St. Elizabeth
Convent, New Jersey

Sister Mary Catharine O'Connor

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THE TEMPTATION TO IMPATIENCE IN THE MANUSCRIPT
IN THE WELLCOME HISTORICAL MEDICAL MUSEUM, LON-
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THE TEMPTATION TO IMPATIENCE FROM THE UNIQUE
COPY OF THE BLOCK BOOK XYL.X IN THE PIERPONT
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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ADB</i>	Allgemeine deutsche Biographie
<i>BMMA</i>	Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art
<i>BMC</i>	British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books
<i>BN</i>	Bibliothèque Nationale
<i>BNYPL</i>	Bulletin of the New York Public Library
<i>CE</i>	Catholic Encyclopedia, 1907-12
<i>CHL</i>	Cambridge History of English Literature
<i>DNB</i>	Dictionary of National Biography
<i>EETS, OS</i>	Publications of the Early English Text Society, Original Series
<i>EETS, ES</i>	Publications of the Early English Text Society, Extra Series
<i>EP</i>	<i>Editio princeps</i> , Ars moriendi
<i>GW</i>	Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke
<i>MLN</i>	Modern Language Notes
<i>NED</i>	New English Dictionary (Oxford English Dictionary, ed. by Murray) Oxford, 1888-[1928]
<i>PG</i>	Patrologiae cursus completus; series Graeca (ed. by Migne)
<i>PL</i>	Patrologiae cursus completus; series Latina (ed. by Migne)
<i>PMLA</i>	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
<i>PBSA</i>	Publications of the Bibliographical Society of America
<i>STC</i>	Short Title Catalogue (ed. by Pollard and Redgrave)
<i>YW</i>	Yorkshire Writers—Richard Rolle of Hampole and His Followers (ed. by Horstmann)

Abbreviations referring to the text and illustrations of the *Ars moriendi* are to be found in the Introduction.

INTRODUCTION

ANY CAREFUL consideration of the books selected by Caxton for the Westminster Press discloses, underlying his selection, a solicitude for the whole development of what the Renaissance was to call the “complete gentleman.” Whatever would train for a society well-informed and well-mannered, whatever would lead to behavior gentle and devout, was gathered in by his indefatigable presses and turned out in small folios and quartos of neat Gothic print. Reading them one by one the fifteenth-century Englishman would acquire the combination of urbanity and godliness that was the mark of a successful life.

With this purpose guiding him Caxton necessarily included on his list several of the books of codified manners which had been instructing men since the earlier Middle Ages in every grace and accomplishment — from manipulating a table knife to conducting a conversation; from the art of weeping¹ to the art of playing chess.

Among them he printed, around 1490 and again around 1491, an exceedingly popular little conduct book that taught one how to die.²

The *Ars moriendi*, or as he called it the “Arte & Crafte to Knowe Well to Dye,” which he translated from the French, printed, abridged, and again printed, and which Richard Pynson and Wynkyn de Worde also printed from his type,³ should be better known than it is.⁴ It exists, in one of several versions, in at least three hundred manuscripts in Latin and the Western vernaculars; editions of it were made from woodblocks and from movable type well over a hundred times before

¹ In MS Bodl. 423, f. 192, there is a poetical treatise called “To lerne to wepe.” And Bale’s *Index of British and Other Writers* of 1548–51, p. 480, mentions a *Speculum de arte lachrimandi* (“opus a quodam Anglo editum”).

² It is the opinion of William Blades, however, that it was the death of Caxton’s wife, in 1489, which caused him to write his *Arte & Crafte* (*The Biography and Topography of William Caxton, England’s First Printer*, p. 81).

³ Robert Wyer (?) also printed the abridgment. See Pt. III, “Editions Printed in England.”

⁴ Emile Mâle says that the *ars moriendi* enjoyed more extraordinary success even than the *danse macabre* (*L’Art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France*, p. 382).

1500, frequently during the first half of the sixteenth century,⁵ and even up to the first years of the seventeenth.⁶ It appears in the catalogues of many early libraries;⁷ it is mentioned in early wills; and its influence on later books extends beyond 1700.

Thus far investigation of the little book has been the work of German scholars interested, most of them, in its place in the history of printing: in 1866 the bibliographer Weigel gave it considerable attention in his *Die Anfänge der Druckerkunst in Bild und Schrift*,⁸ around the turn of the century Max Lehrs, Henry Thode, and August Schmarsow engaged in sometimes warm controversy over the origin of the remarkable woodcuts;⁹ and in 1911 Wilhelm Schreiber completed a thorough investigation of the xylographic editions.¹⁰ The only literary studies of any comprehensiveness were made by Franz Falk¹¹ and Helmut Appel,¹² but Doctor Falk limited himself to the German books antedating 1520, and Herr Appel to High German versions of the *Ars moriendi* considered as "Trostbücher," especially in their relation to Luther's sermons on death.¹³ Little French work has

⁵ Besides independent editions there were the early sixteenth-century editions of the *Horitulus anime*, many of which contained the *Ars moriendi*. Pt. III, "Editions from Movable Type." Between 1470 and 1520 books on dying had their widest circulation (see Rehm, *Todesgedanke in der deutschen Dichtung*, p. 108).

⁶ The edition of the version made by Adam Walasser, printed at Dilingen in 1603.

⁷ Some of the more distinguished owners were Henry VII, Philip Melancthon, Lancelot Andrewes, Archbishop Ussher, Prince Gallitzin, and Henry Savile, known as interpolator of the Oxford passage in Asser's life of Alfred (see Gilson, "The Library of Henry Savile, of Banke," *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, IX [1908], 193).

⁸ Leipzig. ⁹ Pt. III, "Xylographic Editions."

¹⁰ *Manuel de l'amateur de la gravure sur bois . . . au xx^e siècle*.

¹¹ *Die deutschen Sterbebüchlein von der ältesten Zeit der Buchdruckes bis zum Jahre 1520*.

¹² Appel, *Anfechtung und Trost im Spätmittelalter und bei Luther*, "Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte," Vol. CLXV.

¹³ Herr Appel's study appeared too late to be of much help to me in my investigation. For only one point am I indebted to him, the passages from the *Consolatio theologie* of John of Tambach, which may possibly have served as a source for the *Descriptio moris* of the *Ars moriendi* (see Pt. I, "Sources"). The discussions of the *Ars moriendi* in Herr Appel's book are under the general heads "Die Anfechtungslehre die spätmittelalterlichen Trost- und Sterbebücher und Luthers Anfechtungserfahrung und Anfechtungstrost" and "Die Trosttheologen des Spätmittelalters als Begleiter Luthers bei seinem Weg durch die Anfechtung." About the origin of the *Ars moriendi* Herr Appel says little or nothing new. He reproduces all the woodcuts from the first xylographic edition. I have not been able to find a book by M. Hüttrler on the *Ars moriendi* (Augsburg, 1878) or one by C. H. Hecht (*Erneurtes Andenken eines alten und höchsteltenen Buches Ars moriendi*, Friedrichstadt, 1789? See *BMC*, 697.G.47).

been done on it, little English, and almost no American. The *Ars moriendi* has not had, indeed, the treatment deserved by a book known for two centuries all over western Europe.

Every now and then comes out of somewhere a flicker of fresh interest in the *Ars moriendi*. In 1917 Miss Frances Comper,¹⁴ known for her fine study of Richard Rolle, published a valuable volume of modernizations of medieval works on death, the most important of which were three on the art of dying — the *Crafte of Dyeng* from MS Douce 322 and the two versions of it written and printed by Caxton. In 1931 the committee which planned the decorations of the Sterling Memorial Library at Yale borrowed three times from the woodcuts of the *Ars moriendi*.¹⁵ In 1936 the New York Library, which already possessed copies of seven fine editions and others in facsimile, bought for the Spencer Collection at a fairly large price a Venetian printing of 1503 of unusual interest,¹⁶ and the Metropolitan Museum¹⁷ and the Pierpont Morgan Library¹⁸ have for some time been adding rare printings of it to collections famous wherever beautiful books are known.

The subject of death, popular in literature as far back as literature goes, has never been more popular than in the late Middle Ages,¹⁹ when the frequent and devastating visitations of the plague made it a commonplace event. It was then that all the death motifs of literature enjoyed so tremendous a vogue²⁰ — the *Ubi sunt?*, which originated in Greek poetry,²¹ was used by the Fathers and later appeared in

¹⁴ *The Book of the Craft of Dying and Other Early English Tracts concerning Death*.

¹⁵ Grotesques for the roof of Yale Memorabilia and for lanterns at the High Street entrance; demon heads for the triple window in the stack tower; and for the window of a room housing Special Collection No. 331A, one of the deathbed temptation scenes (*The Decoration of the Sterling Memorial Library*, New Haven, 1931).

¹⁶ See the article of Karl Küp, *BNYPL*, Dec., 1935, pp. 927-30.

¹⁷ See the article of William M. Ivins, Jr., *BMMA*, XVIII, 230-36.

¹⁸ The group of editions of the *Ars moriendi* in the Morgan Library is the largest and best that I have found.

¹⁹ Theodore Spencer says: "It is hardly an exaggeration to say that in northern Europe the whole fifteenth century was frenzied about death. . . . Emphasis upon death seems to have mounted like a rushing tide" (*Death and Elizabethan Tragedy*, p. 32).

²⁰ A work called *Compagnia del spedale de la morte*, in Morgan MS 188 (of Bologna of the 15th century), is really a conduct book for a religious community whose work was to attend condemned prisoners.

²¹ Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, p. 125. For a complete bibliography of the *Ubi sunt?* literature see Gilson, *Les Idées et les lettres*, pp. 31-38.

works as widely different as the Anglo-Saxon "Wanderer" and Villon's "Ballade of the Ladies"; the description of the physical havoc wrought by death, also deriving from the Fathers²² of the Church²³ and of perennial interest, as the "soul and body" poems of the tenth, twelfth, and fourteenth centuries show,²⁴ "Trois morts et trois vifs";²⁵ the "Four Last Things";²⁶ and especially the reminder of the leveling power of death, the pictorial *danse macabre*,²⁷ which found superb expression in the wood engravings of Holbein.²⁸

Beyond suggesting that death is no respecter of persons, the theme of the *danse macabre*, the *Ars moriendi* disregards all these popular motifs. Its primary object is not to picture to the reader the physical ravages of death or the inevitability of it or the irreparable folly of failing to meditate on it. The *Ars moriendi* is not a book of remote preparation for it — except for one or two perfunctory sentences in

²² See St. Bernard (?), "Rhythmus de contemptu mundi," *PL*, CLXXXIV, 1314-15.

²³ See St. Augustine's (?) *Speculum peccatoris*, *PL*, XL, 987, and St. Anselm's "Aliud carmen de contemptu mundi," *PL*, CLVIII, 706.

²⁴ Allied to the signs-of-death motif is a work called *Quibus signis cognoscitur moriens* in Rawl. MS 504, ff. 46b-47. Christopher Sutton and Bishop Coverdale both use similar material in their books on death (Pt. IV, "Post-Reformation Books in English"). On the subject see "Gifer the Worm," by Benjamin Kurtz, in *Publications of the University of California*, II (1929, No. 2), 235-61.

²⁵ Mâle, *op. cit.*, pp. 355 ff., and Künstle, *Die Legende der drei Lebenden und der drei Toten*.

²⁶ The amount written on this subject is vast. See Falk, *Die deutschen Sterbebüchlein*, pp. 79-82. The most popular version seems to have been the *Cordiale*, sometimes attributed to Gerhardus de Vliederhoven and extant in many copies of many fifteenth-century editions in Latin and the western vernaculars (see *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, VII, 7469-7541). The Morgan Library has several editions, including one printed by Caxton, in the original binding. Other versions of the Four Last Things are to be found in MSS Treves 683; St. Florian 142, 148A, 350; St. Genevieve 1896. Bede, Robert Southwell, and St. Thomas More all wrote on the subject. It often appears in manuscript and in typographical editions with the *Ars moriendi*.

²⁷ See Buchheit, *Der Totentanz*; also L. P. Kurtz, *The Dance of Death and the Macabre Spirit in European Literature*; also Stammler, *Die Totentänze des Mittelalters*. Mâle says that the *Ars moriendi* is "une spiritualisation" of the *danse macabre* (quoted in Levron, *Le Diable dans l'art*, pp. 67-68).

²⁸ Other medieval death motifs are too numerous to mention. Among them are the poem "Vado mori" in Lat. MS Vienna 3856 and Magd. Oxf. XLI, f. 211; a dialogue between a Christian and death (see Brown's *A Register of Middle English Religious & Didactic Verse*, I, 171); a poem beginning "O mors que amara est memoria tua," in MS Vienna 3651; "Against My Will I Take My Leave" and "Each One Ought Himself to Know" (EETS, 117, OS, 666, 672), etc., etc. In Brown's *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century* there are examples in English of the "Vado mori" (pp. 248-50) and the "O Mors" (pp. 243-45) together with an "Ubi sunt?" passage from Skelton's "Lament of the Soul of Edward IV," a dramatic monologue in Harley MS 4011 (p. 252).

praise of a virtuous life, no *ars vivendi*. It is a complete and intelligible guide to the business of dying, a method to be learned while one is in good health and kept at one's fingers' ends for use in that all-important and inescapable hour.²⁹

In spite of its purpose the *Ars moriendi* is not a doleful book — no clarion call to repentance.³⁰ There is little stress upon hell, only hope of heaven. Always is Moriens encouraged and consoled. True, at the hour of death horrible devils tempt him to grave sin with greater vehemence than ever before, but they are followed immediately by angels, who help him to combat the temptation. Again and again he is reminded of the pity and the mercy of God, which is above all wickedness. The *Ars moriendi* is no more intended to frighten and depress than is any medieval book on hunting and hawking or on table manners for children.³¹

Because of two references in the text to the custom of some religious houses to convene the members by the "smytynge of the table,"³² Weigel has concluded that the *Ars moriendi* was written for religious.³³ But the author makes it quite clear by repeated statements that the "cunnyng of the crafte" of dying is not only for "religious

²⁹ The Brother of the Common Life Mauburnus (or Mombaer) says that the reader of his *Rosetum* must memorize the order of the spiritual exercises given, since one cannot always have the book at hand when the inclination and opportunity for moral evil appear (Pt. IV, "Contemporary Books in Latin"). This is the way in which the author of the *Ars moriendi* intended his work to be used. At times, however, he seems to be writing, not for Moriens himself, but for the friends at his bedside.

³⁰ Mr. Ivins, who has written entertainingly of the block books and book decoration, says of volumes of the *Ars moriendi*: "Their rarity is the result of the way people then did, and still do, maltreat little tractates which call them to repentance" (*BMMA*, XVIII, 234). But the *Ars moriendi* does not call people to repentance in the ordinary sense of that unattractive phrase. Furthermore, continued use, as well as maltreatment, is hard on books and may wear them to dissolution, as the sorry condition of the Bible or the manual of many an old woman proves.

³¹ Carleton Brown remarks the shift of emphasis from terror to hope in the death poems of the fifteenth century. Only the frightening aspect of death had received much stress in the fourteenth (*Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century*, p. xxix).

³² A flat board was struck against a door. The Benedictines used the custom (see Lanfranc's *Decreta pro ordine S. Benedicti*, *PL*, CL, 509, and the customs of St. Augustine's at Canterbury, "Publications of the Henry Bradshaw Society," XXIII). The Dominicans also used it, for the *Processionarium* printed at Venice for the use of the Preachers in 1524 gives specific directions about how it should be obeyed. The *Dispositorium moriendi* of John Nider, a Dominican, also mentions the fact that striking the table was a custom of his order (Pt. IV, "Contemporary Books in Latin").

³³ *Op. cit.*, II, 5.

& devoute" men but also for "carnall & seculer" men. As a matter of fact his inclusion of religious men sometimes sounds like an after-thought, as if he feared that his brethren might fall into the sin of complacency if he omitted them.³⁴ Schreiber offers a suggestion as inaccurate as Weigel's — that the *Ars moriendi* was a guidebook for young priests in their ministrations to the sick.³⁵ Granted that during the visitations of the Black Death, and later, the training of the younger clergy was often inadequate, they might find all the guidance they needed in their own local rituals.³⁶ The only reference in the text to the presence of a priest in the sick room is, moreover, an incidental one,³⁷ apparently caught up in the thoughtless, gather-all way of the medieval writer directly from the source of this part of his book.³⁸ The same may be said for the unemphatic reference to the only agenda requiring the presence of a priest, namely, the reception of the last sacraments.³⁹

Since the author is entirely orthodox, he must have intended his little book to guide the business of dying of those to whom the ministrations of the clergy were not available. It was probably the plague which produced the need for such a work;⁴⁰ with epidemics

³⁴ See the Middle English text in Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers*, II, 406–20. The stress on the two groups of men deficient in the "cunnyng of the crafte" may have been suggested by the fifth chapter of the *Horologium aeternae sapientiae* of Blessed Henry Suso (Pt. I, "Forerunners").

³⁵ *Manuel*, IV, 253. The *De arte moriendi* of Jean Charlier de Gerson, which is the chief source of the *Ars moriendi*, was a guide for priests in instructing their flocks, a purpose which clings to parts of the *Ars moriendi* and is probably the reason for Schreiber's statement. Schreiber also suggests that translations of the *Ars moriendi* books into the vernaculars were intended as guides for laymen at the bedside of dying friends during the time of the pestilence (*Manuel*, IV, 253).

³⁶ There were books written to make up for the ignorance of some of the clergy (Gasquet, *Parish Life in Medieval England*, p. 220).

³⁷ *YW*, II, 416. ³⁸ The *De arte moriendi* of Gerson, *supra*, note 35.

³⁹ *YW*, II, 416. Note that the reception of the sacraments is no more emphasized than the making of the sick man's will. It also seems very significant that the author has omitted entirely Gerson's enumeration of the last sacraments, although he takes pains to mention the crucifix, the image of Our Lady, and holy water as aids to devotion at the moment of death (*ibid.*, p. 417).

⁴⁰ Anna Montgomery Campbell quotes a *Chronicon anonymi cantuarensis* as saying that in England as early as 1348 the plague produced such a scarcity of clergy that many churches remained without incumbents (*The Black Death and Men of Learning*, p. 137). On this subject see also Gasquet, *The Great Pestilence*, pp. 205 ff.

recurring as they did, Christians must be given a method of directing their own passing to a happy eternity.⁴¹

The *Ars moriendi* is extant in two principal versions, closely related, but differing in method and dramatic effect. The longer, which in dissent from all who have written on the subject I believe to be the earlier,⁴² is often referred to as the *Tractatus artis bene moriendi* or *Speculum artis bene moriendi* and in English as the *Crafte of Dyeng*,⁴³ the shorter — perhaps a third as long — is generally called *Ars moriendi*.⁴⁴ But throughout this discussion I intend, for the sake of convenience, to refer to the longer as the CP, the shorter as the QS (from the beginning of their *Incipits* in the Latin versions⁴⁵), and to reserve the title *Ars moriendi*, as many of the cataloguers do, as a general one for the whole group.

The CP version is divided into six parts. The first, called in the Horstmann edition, from which I take all my English quotations, the “Commendacyon of dethe and cunnynge to die wel,” gathers together unrelated utterances of the ecclesiastical writers on the subject of death and turns them to the uses of a conduct book on the art of dying. Especially is Moriens coached in giving up his soul “gladlye and wilfully.” The second takes up the method of meeting the five temptations with which, one after another, the devil will put him to the test — unbelief, despair, impatience, vainglory, and attachment to relatives and material possessions.⁴⁶ In the third are given two series of questions, which answered rightly will insure his salvation,⁴⁷ and in the fourth, rules of conduct which will pattern his dying upon

⁴¹ There is, however, no evidence of this purpose in the text.

⁴² Pt. I, “The Question of Priority.”

⁴³ Falk makes this distinction and erroneously attributes the longer text to the Cardinal of Fermo, Dominicus Capranica (*op. cit.*, pp. 24 ff., Pt. I, “The Question of Authorship”). The *BMC* calls the longer text *De arte bene moriendi*.

⁴⁴ The phrase *ars moriendi* was used by both Cicero and Seneca.

⁴⁵ Cum de presentis exilii miseria mortis transitus propter moriendi imperitiam multis non solum laicis verum etiam religiosis atque devotis difficilis multumque periculosis. . . .

Quamvis secundum philosophum tertio ethicorum omnium terribilium mors corporis sit terribilissima morti tamen anime nullatenus est comparanda. . . . Medieval works frequently were introduced by “Cum” or “Quamvis.”

⁴⁶ Called in the text, somewhat inaccurately, “avaritia.”

⁴⁷ The second set of interrogations is much fuller than the first (Pt. I, “Sources”).

that of Christ on the Cross, together with short prayers for him to say himself. The fifth part shifts the emphasis from the conduct of the dying man to that of friends who stand by his bed — a necessary shift, I suppose, since at some point in the process of his dying his powers will be too enfeebled for him to act for himself.⁴⁸ The sixth part contains prayers to be said by the bystanders for his safe departure.

Except for a short introduction and a shorter conclusion, containing in succinct form much of the first, third, fourth, and fifth sections of the CP, the QS version confines itself to the struggle between good and evil in which every dying man may expect to engage, a struggle reminiscent of the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius,⁴⁹ but not derived from it, inasmuch as here the combatants are the evil suggestions of the bad angel and the inspirations of the good. To the same five vices as are described in the second chapter of the CP the devil successively tempts him, with the good angel alternately prompting him to faith, hope, love, humility, and detachment. The devil's method is verbal attack; the angel's, quotation from the Scriptures and the Fathers to prove the sophistry of his opponent's arguing. The combat is nevertheless not theirs, but the dying Christian's; it is his response to their suggestions that counts. And in this crucial conflict, says the text, if he but follows the directions of his handbook,⁵⁰ he will come off well.

The QS text, the author tells us, was written to accompany pictures, very probably the eleven woodcuts which were used, with some variation, in all the block books and in many of the typographic editions.⁵¹ They depict the struggle of the five temptations with the five

⁴⁸ The author may not have been prompted, however, by any such reasoning as this, but may have unconsciously shifted emphasis when he turned for his fifth chapter to Gerson, who directs all his remarks to the dying man's faithful friend. Evidently the priest was supposed to teach his flock thus to aid one another in death. The earlier sections of the CP text show occasional confusion of purpose: ostensibly writing to teach a man to die, the author sometimes sounds as if he were teaching a man to help a friend to die. The earlier Caxton clears up the difficulty, for, after recommending the presence at one's deathbed of a "felawe & true frend," the author remarks that everything depends upon the dispositions of the dying man himself and that if he will die well, he must learn to die "or the deth come and prevente hym."

⁴⁹ *PL*, LX, 19; also Pt. I, "The Composition of the QS Text."

⁵⁰ Or if he cannot read he may look at the pictures.

⁵¹ Also in a few MSS.

inspirations, together with the successful passage of the soul of Moriens to the care of the waiting angel. After the manner of Roger van der Weyden and other Flemish artists of the late Middle Ages, they show at their best⁵² more than ordinary skill in design and execution.⁵³ Occasionally they accompany the CP version.

In this discussion I will refer to the eleven cuts, and also to the passages of text accompanying the first ten of them, by a series of abbreviations:

TFa	Temptation against Faith	IFa	Inspiration to Faith
TDe	Temptation to Despair	IDe	Inspiration against Despair
TImp	Temptation to Impatience	IImp	Inspiration against Impatience
TVg	Temptation to Vainglory	IVg	Inspiration against Vainglory
TAv	Temptation to Avarice	IAv	Inspiration against Avarice
	Dth		The picture of death

The CP version is in almost all the manuscripts,⁵⁴ in abbreviated form in three of the xylographic editions,⁵⁵ and in most of the typographic editions. It appears in Latin, German, Low German, Dutch, Italian, Spanish, French, and English. German and Italian books containing it are, except those in Latin, most numerous. It is accessible in Middle English in the edition of Horstmann in *Yorkshire Writers*, from which I shall make almost all my English quotations, and in the modernization of Miss Frances Comper.

The QS is extant in Latin, German, Dutch, French, Spanish, and Catalan, though not in Italian or in English. It is the almost exclusive text of the block books and is found in a fair number of the typographic editions,⁵⁶ but in manuscript it is rare.⁵⁷ It is most readily accessible in facsimile reproductions of the block books, especially that of the *editio princeps*, made in 1881 for the Holbein Society by Harry Rylands from the unique copy in the British Museum.⁵⁸

⁵² In the *editio princeps* of the xylographic editions. See Pt. III, "Xylographic Editions."

⁵³ The woodcuts are discussed briefly in Pt. III, "Xylographic Editions."

⁵⁴ *Infra*, the section on MSS (Pt. II).

⁵⁵ Two of these have MS text. Pt. III, "Xylographic Editions."

⁵⁶ The *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, the monumental catalogue of incunabula in the process of volume-by-volume publication, lists thirty-nine of the CP to twenty-six of the QS. There are also relatively more copies of the CP extant.

⁵⁷ There are only a half-dozen of the QS out of more than three hundred MSS.

⁵⁸ For other facsimiles see Pt. III, "Xylographic Editions."

On the general nature of the *Ars moriendi* one more observation should be made: it is a truly medieval book. It is medieval in its reliance on the Scriptures and the Fathers for much that it says; in its recognition of drama in the juxtaposition of virtues and vices and its suggestion of the *débat* in handling them; in the anomaly of schematization somehow combined with flagrant weakness in organization.⁵⁹ But it is most clearly medieval in the almost total absence of the attitude of controversy which marks some of the books it fathered. For although it laments the indifference of layfolk and religious alike to the art of good dying, it shows practically none of the well-known attitude of the reformer.⁶⁰ Later there were to be books on how to die composed in another frame of mind. There are Savonarola's and Luther's and Coverdale's and Bishop Andrewes's and the bigoted Becon's and the godly Jeremy Taylor's. There will be plenty of Protestantism and some Puritanism, but in the *Ars moriendi* of the late Middle Ages scarcely a single word foreshadows the changes that are to come.

⁵⁹ The weakness is flagrant only in the CP.

⁶⁰ Most of those to whom the *Ars moriendi* was erroneously attributed were known as reformers within the Church. See Pt. I, "The Question of Authorship."

PART I

LITERARY HISTORY

THE QUESTION OF PRIORITY BETWEEN THE CP AND QS TEXTS

THE QUESTION of priority between the two texts has not thus far been satisfactorily settled, although the claim of precedence for the QS version made by Weigel in 1866¹ seems to have been generally accepted. Twenty-six years earlier M. Joseph Marie Guichard had seen in the absence of manuscript copies of the QS a reason for supposing that the CP text is older,² but Weigel dismissed his argument as inconclusive.³

His own deduction is based upon two observations: (1) Both texts cite from Aristotle's *Ethics*, Book III, cap. vi,⁴ a characterization of physical death as the most terrible of all terrible things; but whereas the QS contents itself with adding that spiritual death is an incomparably greater evil,⁵ the author of the CP, living at a time when heresy was more rampant, sought to counteract the noxious influence of the pagan utterance by interpolating a long commendation of

¹ *Op. cit.*, II, 5. A. F. Butsch, who made an interesting facsimile of the twelfth xylographic edition, regards the question of priority as still unanswered. He does not take much stock in Weigel's conclusion regarding the omissions (see Introduction to his facsimile, Augsburg, 1874). George Bullen likewise finds no reason for regarding either text as earlier than the other (see his Introduction to the Rylands facsimile of the first xylographic edition, p. 6). Franz, while agreeing with Weigel that the QS is earlier, does not consider his proofs sound ("Ist der Cardinal Dominicus Capranica wirklich der Verfasser des *Speculum artis bene moriendi?*" *Der Katholik*, LXXX [1900], 132n). Dr. Falk (*Die deutsche Sterbebüchlein*, p. 1) calls the QS the "Ars Moriendi in der ursprünglichen Gestalt."

² "Recherches sur les livres xylographiques," *Bulletin du bibliophile*, VIII (1840), 295-306.

³ His argument is inconclusive; existence of a work in MS does not give it authentic priority. The QS version is, moreover, extant in MSS Göttingen Theol. 200i, BM Addit. 22086, Univ. Coll. Oxf. 53, Bodl. Addit. A.268 and 636, Rawl. C 662, and in French in Vienna MS 3391. See section on manuscripts of the *Ars moriendi*, *infra*, Pt. II.

⁴ φοβερώτατον δ' ὁ Θάρατος πέπας γάρ, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι τῷ τεθνεῶτι δοκεῖ οὔτ' ἀγαθὸν οὔτε κακὸν εἶναι.

⁵ "... ohne ein Wort der Missbilligung beizufügen" (*op. cit.*, II, 3).

death as the end of all evils and the beginning of everlasting good. No writer genuinely eager to teach Christians how to die, says Weigel, would omit from an abridgment of the CP so aseptic a passage. (2) The QS does not contain St. Gregory's direction that a man model his dying upon that of Christ.⁶ No true teacher of the *Ars moriendi*, Weigel reasons again, would ignore so beautiful and pertinent a thought.

With Weigel's conclusions in this matter I do not agree. If one text is dependent upon the other, the QS is, I believe, an abridged form of the CP, although material from other sources has been added to it. Not for some years after the *Ars moriendi* was written did Aristotle lose the prestige given him by the earlier Middle Ages;⁷ and in view of the use to which St. Thomas Aquinas had put him it seems improbable that any churchman quoting his work would feel obliged to append several folios of Christian sentiment to the quotation to overcome its unholy influence. A simpler way out of the danger would be not to quote him at all.⁸

The second omission which Weigel regards as so significant can be explained, it seems to me, by a consideration of what was apparently the QS author's purpose in abridging the CP, a purpose at least in the main artistic and born of a sense of form and of drama, of exclusion and arrangement, of emphasis, and perhaps even of psychology. It is

⁶ See Introduction.

⁷ Around 1470 Geiler von Kaysersberg lectured on the various writings of Aristotle at Freiburg in the Breisgau (CE, VI, 404).

⁸ A Scottish version of the *Ars moriendi*, in Cbg. MS Kk. I. 5, omits the quotation, and so does Caxton in his shorter version. In his longer one he gives the citation without attributing it to Aristotle and shortly thereafter quotes from Plato a thoroughly Christian sentiment about the wisdom of learning to die. Other pagans wrote of the "art" of dying, e.g., Seneca, Epistle LXX, and Lucan, *Pharsalia*, IX, 210). None of the Church writers seems to have been afraid of quoting the more noble of the ancients: Gerhard Groote, founder of the Brothers of the Common Life, instructed his brethren to copy in their *rapiaria*, or books of extracts, sentences not only from the Scriptures and the Fathers but also from Seneca, Cicero, and Plutarch (Kettlewell, *Thomas à Kempis and the Brothers of Common Life*, I, 167). If my conclusion regarding the authorship of the *Ars moriendi* is correct, there is nothing at all surprising in the inclusion in the text of a quotation from Aristotle (Pt. I, "The Question of Authorship"). The quotation from Aristotle about the terribleness of physical death was popular in the sixteenth century; Erasmus used it, and so did St. John Fisher in his sermon over the body of Henry VII, and evidently without fearing the effects of it upon his audience (EETS, 27, ES, reprinted 1935, 276). It was used also in the seventeenth century.

as if he saw, as the zealous CP author did not, the whole art of dying bound up in the struggle between the good and the evil impulses of a human heart; and he therefore planned a conduct book terse and dramatic enough to impress all Christians with the gravity of the battle and at the same time to instruct them in the proper tactics to win it.⁹ Even in the long introductory paragraph, although it gives evidence of having been composed with less care than the body of the book,¹⁰ the temptations are kept before the reader. One should have full knowledge of the art of dying so that at the last terrible moment, made hideous by unprecedented temptation, one need not depend upon his own impromptu devising. One should commit himself and his sins to the Passion of Christ, but while the devil is in the act of tempting him, not, as in the CP version, while the interrogations are occupying his mind. One learns the art of dying, says the last sentence of the paragraph, by learning to combat the deathbed temptations.

In thus subordinating everything else to the battle with the devil the author of the QS omitted the point from St. Gregory as devotional rather than strategic; a dying man might pay a beautiful tribute to Christ by praying, by crying out, by weeping, by commanding his spirit to the Father, and by giving it up willingly, as Christ had done; but he could not be lost for failing in this tribute.¹¹

To this so-called artistic purpose the QS writer may have added a mechanical one—to limit his discussion of each temptation and inspiration to the area of a page. According to his own statement, his text was written to accompany illustrations, and since almost all the manuscripts containing this version are not illustrated,¹² M. Guichard is probably right in supposing that he referred to the cuts of the block books.¹³ If so, he was obliged to crowd into the page facing a cut all the text relating to it and to omit everything for which there was not

⁹ Some of the secular conduct books taught knightly behavior in battle. Ruth Kelso mentions "books of honor and arms" in a list of treatises written as guides for gentlemen (*The Doctrine of the English Gentleman in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 14).

¹⁰ It must be admitted that in this paragraph there is some of the confusion of purpose of the CP version.

¹¹ Perhaps less mystical than the CP author, the QS author omits also a passage in which the "disposition" of Christ's body on the Cross is made a guarantee of His mercy to sinners.

¹² The one illustrated MS is Arsenal 2117. It is of the sixteenth century.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 301.

enough space. It is no slight to Our Lord, then, as chief Exponent of the art of dying, that the passage from St. Gregory does not appear.

So much for my reasons for doubting the truth of Weigel's conclusion. My own belief that the exact reverse is true — that the QS is in part an abridgment of the CP — is likewise based upon the qualities of mind which the author displays. (1) He has a feeling for compact organization which is absent from the CP.¹⁴ There is dispatch in the way his "sentences" follow one another and in his scholastic *primo*, *secundo*, *tercio*. Almost always his temptations and inspirations have the symmetrical structure of a *débat*. (2) He has a sense of strong conclusion. All but one of his temptations and inspirations end with the favorite "Nota" or "Notandum est" of the Fathers and of the records of Church councils, here a kind of meditation for the dying man. For this all the most compelling citations are reserved,¹⁵ and it should be noted further that none of them appears in the CP text. (3) He has a more specific mind. The CP TFa contains a somewhat general warning: "þe deuyll with all his myȝte is besy to auerte fully a man fro þe feiþe in [his] last ende, or yf he may not þat, he laboriþe besily to make hym douȝt þerein or sumwhat draw hym out of þe wey, or disceyue hym with som maner of supersticiose & false erroris or herisies."¹⁶ The QS, upon the other hand, specifies the kind of infidelity Moriens may be tempted to: *Infernus fractus est*¹⁷ quidquid homo agat licet aliquem vel seipsum occidat tum indiscreta prima sicut aliqui fecerunt vel ydola adorat ut reges paganorum et plures pagani faciunt nonne in finem idem est quia nullus revertitur dicens tibi veritatem et sic fides tua nichil est.¹⁸ And whereas the CP author sets before Moriens

¹⁴ Not that I wish to exaggerate his powers, which are short of perfect. His citations from the Scriptures and the Fathers are occasionally overlapping or anticlimactic; and some of his temptation texts would more accurately be regarded as inspiration.

¹⁵ Here, for example, we read that the patient man is a martyr, although no sword has touched him (IPa); that it was humility which made Mary the Mother of God and raised her above the angels (IVg); that Judas sinned more by despairing of Christ's mercy than by betraying Him (TDe). The last point is used by the author of the *Speculum Christiani* and is attributed by him to St. Jerome (Holmstedt ed., Oxford, 1930, p. 114).

¹⁶ YW, II, 408-9.

¹⁷ Sometimes supposed to have been intended for *factus est*. See the comment of George Bullen in the introduction to the Rylands facsimile, p. 9. And also Prince d'Essling, *Etudes sur l'art de la gravure sur bois à Venise*, p. 272.

¹⁸ The pagan kings and the suicide are shown in the woodcuts, added support, perhaps, to my belief that this text was made for the cuts.

"his synnes . . . specialli the synnes that he hath don & was not schreven of, to draw hym þerbye vnto dispaire,"¹⁹ the QS demons charge him with specific deeds and omissions: "Se superbe avare luxuriose gulose iracunde invide accidiose vixisti . . . septem opera misericordie non implesti. . . ."²⁰

Comparison of the two texts indicates, furthermore, that the QS author made several alterations which further the coherence of the whole. From Part V of the CP he took a sentence concerning detachment from relatives and possessions and put it with TAv, where it obviously belongs.²¹ He omitted from TAv a passage on the futility of the devil's advances against a resolute soul which had appeared twice in the CP text, once in TFa and once in TAv.²² He has added illustrations which the CP author would hardly have ignored — St. Peter impelled by faith to walk upon the sea, St. John drinking the poison which did him no harm, and Lucifer transformed by vainglory from an angel of surpassing beauty to a devil of surpassing ugliness.²³

If, as Weigel believed, the CP author worked with a text before him as interesting and orderly as the QS, it would be odd indeed if he failed to seize on the qualities there at hand instead of following his own less-inspired devices. Suppose, however, for argument's sake, that he had a naturally ruinous touch. Suppose that quite consciously he substituted for the emphatic structure of the QS and its fairly succinct phrasing his own want of method and his own diffuseness. Suppose that he passed over, ignorant of their worth, the citations

¹⁹ *YW*, II, 409.

²⁰ This suggests a connection with the *interrogatoria* used formerly for confession.

²¹ In the *Crafte* the sentence reads: Whan a man is in poynþ of deþe & hastis fast to his ende, þan schuld þere no carnall frendis ne wife ne children ne riches ne no temporall goodis be reducid to his mynde neþer be comoned of before him, but [in] as much [as þe] spirituall helþe & profett of þe seke man askyth & requireth (*YW*, II, 417). The sentence is taken from the fourth part of Gerson's *De arte moriendi*.

²² "But witt þou well withowte doute þat in þis temptacion & all oþer þat followene after, the deuyll may not noy þe ne prevale ayence no mane in no wise as longe as he hath vse of his free will & of reason well disposed, but yf he will wilfully consent to his temptacion; & þerfor no verrey cristen man ough not to dred eny of his illusions or his false persuasions or his feyned feryngis or gastyngis, for Crist hym-selfe seiþe in þe gospell: The deuell is a lyar & fader of all lesyngis . . ." (*YW*, II, 409). For the repetition of the idea in TAv see *ibid.*, p. 412.

²³ The saints pictured in the woodcuts would have given the CP author further material if he had seen them. See Pt. III, "The Xylographic Editions."

and illustrations that had given the QS its strength. Suppose, in short, that he came face to face with literary qualities, never guessing their presence — there is still reason to think that if he worked with the QS before him, he was stupid beyond belief.

As the last temptation of a dying man avarice is anticlimactic. In the CP version the impression of anticlimax in TAv is aggravated by meager material and pallid phrasing. The author appears to have had a hard time composing it; four sentences are all that he manages to get together — the fourth an expression of the regret he seems always to feel at the indifference of men, "both seculer & carnall," to the *ars moriendi*. Yet the avarice sections in the QS are neither meager nor pallid; and even were the supposed amplifier dull to the vigor of the material,²⁴ he would have seized upon the abundance of it, if only to satisfy his own habit of ample utterance. Instead, according to Weigel, Franz, and the other believers in the amplification hypothesis, he further impoverished himself by giving away to his fifth section, already well supplied with material, a part of the QS TAv,²⁵ most intimately a part of it and quite out of place in its changed surroundings. To accept the QS as the original text is to make the CP author an obtuse fellow indeed.

The subject should not be abandoned without mention of the somewhat hurried manner of the QS concluding paragraph.²⁶ Comparing it with related sections in the Latin CP text,²⁷ one detects in it a strong suggestion of rapid condensation, as if the author tried to pack into a limited space a little of each of a great many things, as if he feared

²⁴ The QS author quotes Christ's words of blessing on those who leave what they love for His sake and refers to the persuasiveness of His poverty at death and the detachment practiced by His Mother and the disciples.

²⁵ The sentence referred to above.

²⁶ On the last page of the block books, facing the cut of the death of Moriens. It must be admitted that this paragraph does not contribute to the unity of the whole as the opening paragraph does. There is no mention of the struggle with the devil.

²⁷ The fourth and the sixth. The English translation does not permit so good a comparison as the Latin. The Latin text uncovers also the reappearance in the addenda of the CP a sentence already given at the end of Part V. It is hard to see that the repetition can signify anything but carelessness. The sentence reads "Sed heu pauci sunt qui se ad id preparant neque qui proximis suis subveniant seu assistant eos interrogando monendo et pro ipsis orando presertim cum ipsis morientes non dum mori velint et sic anime morientium sepe miserabiliter periclitantur," as it appears in the addenda. In Part V there are textual differences. The QS uses the sentence once, at the very end of the version.

that Moriens would die before all the directions for dying were given him. Especially hasty are the suggestions for his prayers, which in the CP are given in full.²⁸

Until recently Weigel's hypothesis was somewhat strengthened by the general belief that xylography was a step in the development of typography, since all but three of the twenty-one block-book printings²⁹ contain the QS text, and the incunabula, for the most part, the CP.³⁰ Investigation has now disclosed the fact that the use of wood blocks was coexistent with printing from movable type³¹ and that xylographic texts were often copies from typographic texts, just as manuscripts were copied from both.³²

It should be remarked, however, that all the manuscripts of earliest dating contain the CP text.³³

LITERARY FORERUNNERS

What precedent had the author of the CP for writing a book on so singular a subject as the *ars moriendi*?

As early as the last quarter of the thirteenth century a chapter on how to die had appeared in the best known of the numerous compendia of faith which sprang up in obedience to the pronouncements of Church councils,³⁴ *Le Somme le roi*, or *Le Somme des vices et des vertus*, composed in 1279 for King Philip III by the Dominican Friar

²⁸ As an example of the QS manner in this paragraph: ". . . invocet gloriosam virginem mariam pro sua mediatrix. Deinde omnes angelos et principue angelum pro sua custodia deputatum. Deinde apostolos martires confessores atque virgines. . . ."

²⁹ The three books with a variation of the CP are supposed chronologically to be last, but I have reason to believe that their origins antedate the *editio princeps*. Pt. III, "The Xylographic Editions."

³⁰ See Pt. III, "Editions from Movable Type."

³¹ Professor Lehmann-Haupt attributes the continued use of wood blocks to the provincial printers' lack of typographical equipment (*Book Illustration in Augsburg in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 3). Douglas Percy Bliss says that block books persisted because re-editions were possible without fresh setting up of type (*A History of Wood Engraving*, p. 17).

³² *Ibid.*

³³ See Pt. II, "The Manuscripts."

³⁴ At the Synod of Oxford in 1281 Archbishop Peckham ordered that the laity be instructed four times a year in the articles of faith, the ten commandments, the seven sacraments, the seven virtues, the seven deadly sins, and the evangelical precepts (Hardouin, *Conciliorum collectio regia maxima*, VII, 866, Cap. X; see also EETS, 118, OS, ix ff.). Bishop Grosseteste had earlier laid a similar obligation to instruct the people in these matters upon the clergy of Lincoln (Pegge, *The Life of Robert Grosseteste*, Append. VI, 315). The order was repeated at the Synod of Ely (1364).

Laurent.³⁵ In spite of the title "Coment on aprent a bien morir," however, the chapter has little or nothing to do with death. A link between vices and virtues, it is concerned with the art of living; yet such was the preoccupation of the fifteenth century with death that a chapter at least called the art of dying became thereafter a standard part of the contents of the compendia. Gradually these sections approached nearer to the subject of dying.³⁶ Blessed Henry Suso's³⁷

³⁵ The *Somme*, according to Langlois the *Imitatio Christi* of the thirteenth century (*La Vie en France au moyen âge*, IV, 124), is extant in Italian, Sicilian, Provençal (three MSS in the Bibliothèque Nationale), and Catalan (see Paul Meyer, *Bulletin de la Société des anciens textes français*, 1893, 69n). A Dutch translation of it, *Des Coninx Summe*, was edited by D. C. Tinbergen for the *Bibliotheek van middelnederlandse Letterkunde*, Leiden, n.d. The best-known English translations of the *Somme* are the Kentish *Ayenbite of Inwit*, made by Dan Michel in 1340 with a chapter "Vor to lyerny Sterve," and Caxton's *Book Ryal*, or *Book for a King*. Morris enumerates eight other translations in English, two in prose and six in verse (EETS, 23, OS, Preface); and I have come across two other English works closely related to the French compendium. The first is merely a "chapitle," taken out of a book "cleped toure of all toures and teacheth a man for to die" and now extant in Douce MS 322, Harl. MS 1706, and MS Ff. V. 45 (in all of these MSS is the English version of the CP text also). Miss Comper has modernized it, but without recognizing it as an exact translation of the chapter on death in the *Somme le roi*. Whether the rest of the work, if found, would prove to be a translation of the whole *Somme* it is impossible to conjecture, since all sections of the compendium, including that on the art of dying, probably circulated separately (Langlois, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-30). My second discovery, a *Disce mori*, appearing in two Bodleian MSS, Laud Misc. 99 and Jesus Coll. 39, has proved to be a translation, not directly of the *Somme*, but of an earlier work, a *Mireour du monde*, on which the *Somme* is presumably based (see Langlois, *op. cit.*, p. 135). In the *Mireour* and the *Disce mori* the death chapter gets further emphasis by serving as an introduction. In this change of position may lie the reason for the title *Disce mori*. A later *Mireour du monde*, much closer to the *Somme* than the earlier version, was edited at Lausanne by Felix Chavannes in 1845. Although the *Somme* is to be found in numerous MSS, it has not been edited, and neither has the early *Mireour*, which is best known through BN MS fr. 1109. There is an English prose translation in a manuscript in the H. E. Huntington Library (HE 147).

³⁶ Cardinal Gasquet mentions among the manuals written to aid the priests in carrying out the directions of the councils the *Pars oculi* of William Parker; *Pupilla oculi* of John de Burgo, rector of Collingham (1385); *Regimen animarum* (ca. 1343); *Speculum Christiani* of John Walton; the *Festiall* of John Myrc (*Parish Life in Medieval England*, p. 220; see also Cardinal Gasquet's "The Bibliography of Some Devotional Books," *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, No. 7, Oct., 1902-March, 1904, pp. 171-74). For the laity similar works were written in the vernacular: in English the *Mirror of St. Edmund* (YW, I, 219) and John Gatyke's famous sermon, preached at the order of Archbishop Thoresby of York in 1357 (EETS, 26, OS); in German *Eyn spiegel des cristen ghelouen*, *Sele trost*, and *Beichte nach den zehn Geboten* (Geffcken, *Der Bilderkatechismus des 15. Jahrhunderts*, I, 86-88). The *Himmelstrass*, published at Augsburg in 1484, 1501, and 1510, is of this class (*ibid.*, p. 108) and also the *Oorspronck* (see Pt. IV, "Later Catholic Books in German"). For a brief discussion of the English compendia see Mosher, *The Exemplum in the Early Religious and Didactic Literature of England*, pp. 115 ff.

³⁷ A Dominican Father (1300[?]-1366), called Amandus and often referred to as the

Büchlein der ewige Weisheit (ca. 1328), or as it is more frequently called from the Latin version which the author made of it in 1334, *Horologium sapientiae*,³⁸ puts before the reader the horrible spectacle of the unprepared soul overtaken by sudden death.³⁹ On occasion this chapter was used by those who felt that a how-to-die chapter was essential to a complete compendium. *The Cordiale quattuor novissima*⁴⁰ contains it, and so does a work called *Speculum spiritualium*,⁴¹ printed at Paris in 1510 by Wolfgang Hopyl, according to the colophon at the expense of a London citizen, William Bretton. The chapter was also

Minnesinger of Divine Love. His book is to be found in Dutch in Brussels MS 2134, in French in Harl. MS 4386 (with the author's name given as Jehan de Soushaue), and in Italian in Bodl. MS 20307 and MS 4 in the library of T. Henry Foster, Ottumwa, Iowa (Ricci, *Census of Med. and Ren. MSS in U. S. and Canada*, I, 723). There are modern editions in German by Anton Gabele (Leipzig, 1924), French by Cartier, and English (London, 1910), a translation of Suso's German version.

³⁸ The Latin text does not always correspond with the German.

³⁹ *Le Somme le roi*, in one place in the death chapter, teaches the art of dying by a similar method. "Du corps par penser envoie ton cuer en autre siecle, cest ou ciel ou en enfer ou en purgatoire. La verras tu quest bien et quest mal. En enfer verras plus de doleurs que en ne porroit deviser. En purgatoire que en ne porroit endurer. En paradis plus de joies quen ne porroit desirrier" (quotations taken from the MS of the *Somme* at Harvard). There might even be a slight but direct connection between Friar Laurent and Suso here, for Suso says, "Putte in þy herte as þey thy soule were now in purgatorye and hadde in penaunce for they trespasses X ȝeere in þe fourneys of brennyng fyre . . ." (from the English translation of parts of the *Horologium* called the "Seven Poyntes of Trewe Wisdom" and printed by Caxton in 1490. See *Anglia*, X, 361 ff.). Suso also expresses disapproval of the large number of compendia in circulation, but this point may be an interpolation.

It was the spectacle method which, according to St. John Fisher, the mother of Henry VII used to teach herself the art of dying. "And whan it pleased God to call ony of them out of this wretched worolde she wolde be presente to see theym departe and to lerne to deye" (EETS 27, ES, repr. 1935, 297). Later St. John remarks that the Countess's own death might serve as a model for dying (*ibid.*, p. 302). Addison, it will be remembered, proposed that his stepson learn the art of dying by the spectacle method, with Addison himself as the example.

An interesting link between Suso and the *Ars moriendi* may lie in the fact that Suso wrote while the plague was raging. "Behold," Eternal Wisdom says to the soul in a dialogue reminiscent in its form of the *Consolation of Philosophy*, "even this is the source of these unprovided and terrible deaths of which the towns and convents are full."

⁴⁰ The *Cordiale* was another exceedingly popular death book of the late Middle Ages which found its way into many countries. It is extant in many MSS (sometimes together with the *Ars moriendi*) and in a good number of incunabula (GW, VII, 7469-7541). There are several of the latter in the Morgan Library. For mention of the *Cordiale* as an example of the literature of the Four Last Things, see Introduction.

⁴¹ The *Speculum spiritualium* contains so much on contemplative life and prayer that it seems to have been written more for religious than for layfolk. For a short discussion of the book see Hope Emily Allen, *PMLA*, XXXII (1917), 142-43. There is a copy in a satisfactory state of preservation in the Union Theological Seminary.

circulated separately as a *Sterbebüchlein*,⁴² not only in German⁴³ and Latin⁴⁴ but also in French,⁴⁵ Low German,⁴⁶ and English.⁴⁷ It is not seldom found in manuscripts, and sometimes in typographical editions, in company with the CP text of the *Ars moriendi*,⁴⁸ of which it is not only a forerunner but also a minor source.

De Tafel van den Kersten Ghelove, the last forerunner among the compendia, is the work of another Dominican, Dirk van Delft, one time chaplain of Duke Albrecht of Bavaria and regent of the Universities of Erfurt and Cologne.⁴⁹ *De Tafel van den Kersten Ghelove* has been edited only recently,⁵⁰ but the manuscripts are numerous enough to indicate its popularity.⁵¹

De Tafel is divided into two parts, a "Winterstuk" and a "Sumerstuk."⁵² In the Morgan Library there is a fine manuscript on parchment of Part II of the "Sumerstuk" (1404), M 691, in 226 folios of quarto size with twenty-four well-executed miniatures. The death

⁴² The circulation of this chapter and of the one written by Friar Laurent is eloquent of the demand for death books in the fifteenth century.

⁴³ For example, Munich MS 835.

⁴⁴ The Latin version was often called *Dialogus de arte moriendi*. Examples of it are to be found in Laud Misc. 497 and Magd. Col. Oxf. LXXII.

⁴⁵ For example, MSS Grenoble 407 and Valenciennes 232 (1).

⁴⁶ MS Giessen 816.

⁴⁷ In MSS Add. 37049, Douce 322, Harl. 1706, Bodl. 789, Cbg. Ff. V, 45, and Lichfield Cathedral 16. The EETS evidently intended to edit the last, but changed its mind (EETS, 66, ES, xlvii). Dr. Furnivall, unacquainted with the *Horologium*, was puzzled also by Ocleve's *Lerne to Deye*, another translation of Suso.

⁴⁸ In MSS Douce 322, Harl. 1706, and Cbg. Ff. V. 45. It is among the added contents of two of the Latin editions printed in France, *GW* 2602 and 2606.

⁴⁹ For Vita see the Utrecht dissertation of Franciscus Daniëls, O. P., *Meester Dirc van Delf, zijn Persoon en zijn Werk*, pp. 5 ff., and his ed. of *Tafel*, I, 11 ff. See also *GW*, VII, 484. And Quétif and Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Predicatorum*, I, 749. Also Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon*, IV, 1098.

⁵⁰ By Father Daniëls, Utrecht, 1937-39.

⁵¹ See Daniëls, *Meester Dirc*, p. 201. There were even two in German (*ibid.*, p. 3. Also Tinbergen, *op. cit.*, p. 119). In the Walters Library in Baltimore there is a MS which Ricci erroneously thought was part of the one in the Morgan Library (*op. cit.*, I, 823). Some of the MSS are only fragments.

⁵² The "Winterstuk," in fifty-seven chapters, contains matter on an assortment of topics — such as the four complexions of men, the twelve fruits of the tree of life, the sins, the virtues, the eight heavens, the nine choirs of angels. The "Sumerstuk," in fifty-three chapters, deals chiefly with the Passion of Our Lord, but also with events after the resurrection and especially with the sacraments. In the chapter devoted to extreme unction there is another section on the art of dying, close to the *Ars moriendi* in structure and in matter.

chapter,⁵³ which belongs to this section, begins: "Die hoochste kunst en die subtylse lesse is kunnen te steruen. want die kunste gaet bouen alle phylosophye want dese kunst den mensche leert dat zyn leuen is uan corten tijden. . . ." This is somewhat in the tradition of his fellow Dominican Laurent;⁵⁴ what follows is new. In all the books is the art of dying called the "art of all arts," but only Dirk's gives the reason. Dese waerdiche kunst kunnen te steruen leert den mensche bet connen te spreken dan gramatica, want zi seit in aller tijt. Ich ga steruen. Zi leert den mensche bet reden te vinden dan logica, want zi seit in aller tyt. Op ydelheit die mensche steyt. Zi leert den mensche bet tucht en zedē te houden dan ethica. Want zi seit zalich is die man die in zinen lesten dach gheen smette noch valscheit en heeft in ziner hant.

The chapter goes on as a dialogue between the merciful God and a despairing sinner,⁵⁵ who, having resolved to learn "dese . . . kunst bouen allen kunsten," is given the eight rules for *ars vivendi*. The craft of dying, as we know it, is not mentioned.

JEAN CHARLIER DE GERSON'S DE ARTE MORIENDI

The link between the death chapters of Friar Laurent, Blessed Henry Suso, and Dirk van Delft and the *Ars moriendi* is the section on dying in the *Opusculum tripartitum* of Jean Charlier de Garson (1363-1429),⁵⁶ one of the most famous churchmen and prolific writers of the late Middle Ages, chancellor of the University of Paris,⁵⁷ and zealous reformer within the Church.⁵⁸ At first sight his *De arte moriendi* appears out of harmony with the other two parts of his *Opusculum*,

⁵³ F. CCCLXXI (f. 176r). In the printed edition, Chap. xlviii (III², 607 ff.). This chapter, rather than the one spoken of in the above note, follows the fashion set by Friar Laurent and Suso, since it stands, as their chapters did, apart from the matter of the compendium.

⁵⁴ Tinbergen finds in *De Tafel* many similarities to the *Somme le roi*. He remarks especially that both were written for the laity (*op. cit.*, p. 108).

⁵⁵ Father Daniels notices a slight similarity between Dirk's chapter and Suso's (*op. cit.*, p. 78). See his edition, III², 611n.

⁵⁶ For Gerson's life see Jadart, *Jean de Gerson*; Masson, *Jean Gerson, sa vie, son temps, ses œuvres*; and Connolly, *John Gerson, Reformer and Mystic*.

⁵⁷ 1395-1419. Mâle says that owing to his absorption in the councils of Pisa and Constance, Gerson ceased to be an active chancellor in 1409 (*L'Art religieux*, p. 381n). Connolly states, however, that Gerson was not at Pisa (*op. cit.*, p. 170).

⁵⁸ With Christine de Pisan he condemned the *Romance of the Rose* as an immoral work, opposing Jean de Montreuil, provost of Lille (Masson, *op. cit.*, pp. 168 ff.). See Gerson [*Opera*], Strasbourg, 1494-1502, Vol. IV, LXIX F.

which are given respectively to confession and the seven deadly sins; but when the work is regarded as a descendant of the compendia, the combination of how-to-do book with two pieces of pure doctrine is not at all irregular. In the *Opusculum tripartitum* he wished apparently to include only such sections of the earlier books as were most necessary to the saving of souls:⁵⁹ in a letter to a certain bishop he is specific about the use to which it is to be put:

Et quoniam multi sunt ex simplicibus, quibus non predicatur verbum, aut non talitur predicatur verbum quod ad praefatam scientiam deveniant, agente hoc vel ignorantia, vel negligentia praedicantium, commodum fore existimavi, si velut in tabula quadam tenorem nostrae legis et suorum preceptorum rememorationem sententioso compendio depingerem, aut velut in speculo⁶⁰ cernentibus obiicerem, quatenus ipsi haberent Curati minus instructi aliquod solidum et aptum, quod in toto, vel per partes diebus dominicis et festivis legere possent suis plebibus, ut scient et intelligerent ad quid et propter quid et a quo factae sunt, quid insuper credere, quid agere et quid omittere divina lege tenentur et quemadmodum a peccato resurgere.⁶¹

The *Opusculum*, which according to Connolly may be styled the first catechism of Christian doctrine,⁶² adds somewhat to this letter by designating as readers for the work not only priests but also all Christians insufficiently instructed, including children and young folk and those in care of the poor and the sick.⁶³

The influence of the *Opusculum* during Gerson's lifetime and long afterward was uncommonly great: the French episcopate gave the work an official status by obliging the clergy to read a division of it to their congregations every Sunday and to put it into their rituals.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Single works on the decalogue and the seven deadly sins were not uncommon. It will be remembered that these were the two subjects the Parson used in his tale. Miss Kate O. Petersen has concluded that the immediate source of the Parson's Tale was one of the compendia, related in some way to the works of the two Dominicans, St. Raymond Pennafort and Guilielmus Peraldus, to whom, as more remote sources, she has traced the tale (see *The Sources of the Parson's Tale*, pp. 80-81). Gerson's discussion of the commandments is preceded by passages on the Creation, the Fall, the Redemption (see Geffcken, *op. cit.*, I, 36).

⁶⁰ Gerson's use of the word *speculo* recalls the fact that Friar Laurent's compendium was later called *Mireour du monde*. An edition of the first part of the *Opusculum* in French (made in Vienna, 1480), has the title *Miroir de l'ame*. There is a copy in the Morgan Library. The QS author also refers to his book as a "speculum."

⁶¹ Geffcken, *op. cit.*, I, 30 (Beilagen). ⁶² *Op. cit.*, p. ix.

⁶³ See Falk, *Die deutschen Sterbebüchlein*, p. 16 n.3.

⁶⁴ Jadart, *op. cit.*, pp. 201-2.

Well into the sixteenth century diocesan synods renewed this obligation, and as late as the seventeenth St. Francis de Sales introduced it into the diocese of Geneva.⁶⁵ The popularity of the work is further indicated by the number of manuscripts⁶⁶ and early editions⁶⁷ in which it appeared, many of them translations. It is to be found in rituals as late as 1782.⁶⁸

If, as I believe, Gerson found the inspiration of his *De arte moriendi* in the chapters on the art of dying in the compendia, his dependence upon the earlier books went no further. Indeed, with such a purpose as his, to compose a work to help Christians in the actual performance of dying, he would naturally go for his material beyond Friar Laurent and Suso and Dirk van Delft to the liturgy, into which a *De visitatione infirmorum* had already been inserted.⁶⁹ His four divisions — *exhortationes, interrogationes, orationes, obsecrationes* — are to be found in many of the early rituals, and the whole manner of his work is the cut-and-dried, unleisurely manner of the service books. There is strong indication that he intended this third part of his *Opusculum* as a sort of layman's ritual to be used at the bedside of a dying friend.⁷⁰

The relation between Gerson's *Opusculum* and the *Ars moriendi* is in several ways important: (1) Although he cannot be the author of the later work as was once supposed, he supplies for the *Ars* the *terminus a quo* date of 1408, inasmuch as the *Opusculum*, a source,

⁶⁵ Masson, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

⁶⁶ For example, Munich MSS 405, 638, 834, 3070; Vienna MS 4659; Treves MS 719; Cambridge MS Ee. 17.7; and several MSS in Royal Library in Brussels. In the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal (MS 525) the third part is called "Tractatus de medicina anime in morte." In Magdalen College, Cambridge (MS F. 4.13) there is an English translation of the third part (*ca. 1467*. Some of the MSS contain only the third part).

⁶⁷ It was published at Cologne by Zell (Proctor 804). Also at Marienthal by the Brothers of the Common Life (Hain 7654). It is to be found in German and Dutch in several editions (Falk, *Die deutschen Sterbehüchlein*, pp. 18-19) and Swedish (Upsala, 1514. A facsimile was made at Stockholm in 1881). At the command of Bishop Juan de Zumarraga it was printed in Spanish in Mexico, 1544. There is a copy in the New York Library. Some of these editions contain only the *De arte moriendi*, apparently the most popular of the three parts.

⁶⁸ Of the diocese of Liège. There is a copy in the Union Theological Seminary.

⁶⁹ Each diocese had its own ritual.

⁷⁰ Gerson begins: Si veraces fidelesque amici cuiuspam egroti curam diligentium agant pro ipsis vita corporali fragili et defectibili conservanda exigunt a nobis multo fortius deus et caritas pro salute sua spirituali solitudinem gerere specialem. . . .

was written before that period.⁷¹ (2) His presence at Constance supports the strong probability that the *Ars moriendi* originated in Swabia or Bavaria.⁷² (3) His work ranks as the most important source of the *Ars moriendi*.⁷³ (4) He was a link — and at the present point in the discussion this is his greatest significance — between the celebrated compendia of faith of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and the little conduct book which taught the fifteenth century how to die.

SOURCES

The author of the CP text incorporated into it much of Gerson, but also much besides him. As anyone investigating the sources of a medieval religious work learns to expect, the added material is to be found in the Fathers⁷⁴ and in the liturgy,⁷⁵ with occasional contributions from the transmitters of patristic thought⁷⁶ and from the ecclesiastical writers of the later Middle Ages.⁷⁷ The most satisfactory

⁷¹ See Pt. I, "The Question of Authorship." ⁷² *Ibid.* ⁷³ Pt. I, "Sources."

⁷⁴ See the Reverend J. M. Campbell, "Patristic Studies and the Literature of Medieval England," *Speculum*, VIII (October, 1933), 465–78. In the Fathers there is no work on the art of dying. They were concerned chiefly with remote preparation for death, with meditation on the Four Last Things; and their treatment of the subject may be summed up in St. Augustine's "si bene vixeris, mali mori non poteris" (*Sermo CCXLIX, PL, XXXVIII*, 1162). Whenever they have written of more immediate preparation, as in St. Cyprian's *De mortalitate* (see *PL*, IV, 603, and Mary Louise Hannan, *Thasci Caecili Cypriani De mortalitate*, which gives text, an English translation, and comment) and the *De visitatione infirmorum*, attributed doubtfully to St. Augustine (see *PL*, XL, 1151), they have offered no orderly method like that of the *Ars moriendi*. The treatise of St. Cyprian is interesting in this discussion because it was written during the plague of 251–55 to encourage the Carthaginians to meet death with faith and resignation. The *De visitatione infirmorum* takes on a faint importance as a source of Johann Nider's *Dispositorium moriendi* and of a popular English work of the fourteenth century, having a few points in common with the *Crafts of Dyeng*. This work is to be found in MSS Univ. Coll. Oxf. 97 (edited in *YW*, II, 449 ff.), St. John's Coll. Oxf. 117 (edited in Maskell's *Monumenta ritualia ecclesiae Anglicanae*, II, 353 ff.), Cbg. U. Dd. 1. 17, Lambeth 432, Laud 210, Bodl. 938, Harl. 237, Harl. 2398, Royal 17 A XXVI, Caius Coll. Cbg. 209. St. Maximus (?) (*PL*, LVII, 921) has written a treatise for the sick who would recover. Jonas, Bishop of Orleans (821) included a chapter on the visitation of the sick in his *De institutione laicali* (*PL*, CVI, 258–62).

⁷⁵ Dom Wilmart, O.S.B., believes that to be rightly understood the Latin devotional literature of the Middle Ages, so important for an understanding of medieval secular literature, requires a knowledge of the liturgy, on which most of the Latin works are based (*Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du moyen âge latin*).

⁷⁶ Taylor, *The Mediaeval Mind*, I, 6.

⁷⁷ St. Isidore, St. Bernard, St. Albertus Magnus, Innocent III, and Duns Scotus are among those quoted. There is also abundant scriptural quotation.

method of dealing with the question of origins will be in this case to discuss the CP text part by part, pointing out the writings whence the larger units of thought ultimately derive.

Part I — The ffirst chapter is [of] commendacion of deth & [of] cunnyng for to dye wel: Most of the material in this section is to be found in the Fathers and the transmitters of their thought, and much of it is met in other religious literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The question whether death is good or bad was of tremendous interest to the Church Fathers. The author of the *Ars moriendi*, however, says only that if a man is virtuous or repentant his death is not merely good but also actually precious in God's sight.⁷⁸ Beyond this his "comendacyon of dethe" is nothing more than a "descriptio mortis,"⁷⁹ a list of comparisons for death taken from classical or

⁷⁸ Some ecclesiastical writers called death the creation of the devil (for example, St. Bernard, *PL*, CLXXXIII, 483), the idea poetized in the second book of *Paradise Lost*. Although the author of the *Ars moriendi* finds death good, never does he speak meanly of life, an interesting attitude in one acquainted with the *De contemptu mundi* of Innocent III, from which much of the Man of Law's bleak outlook derived. Disparagement of life is expressed elsewhere in medieval literature, as in the Distichs of Cato:

"Multum uenturi ne cures tempora fati:
Non metuit mortem qui s[c]it
Contempnere uitam."

(EETS, 117, OS, 601)

⁷⁹ A common method in medieval writing. See the "description" of infirmity, wrongly attributed to Rolle (*YW*, II, 390).

Vincent of Beauvais uses a "descriptio mortis" in many ways like that of the *Ars moriendi* (*Speculum doctrinale*, Bk. VI, ch. cxvii). One of the most frequently repeated of the comparisons in the *Ars moriendi*, that death is the end of a pilgrimage through life (see I St. Peter, 2:12, and St. Paul, Hebrews, 11:13), a "turnyng ayen into his contree," is to be found in the medieval drama (see Owsley, "The Attitude toward Death in Shakespere, Webster, and Dekker," p. 59) and in the Knight's Tale, where the father of Theseus, borrowing Boethius, says of the death of Arcite:

"This world nis but a thurhfare ful of wo,
And we ben pilgrimes, passing to and fro;
Deeth is an ende of every worldly sore
A 2847-49

and Chaucer adds a line that may suggest that old Egeus gave a full "descriptio mortis":

"And over al this yet seyde he muchel more
To this effect . . ."

Gerson says in Pt. I of his *De arte moriendi*: "Venimus in mundum more peregrinorum." In the early nineteenth century the idea of death as the end of a pilgrimage was still popular, for Wordsworth uses it in "She Was a Phantom of Delight," and Shelley in *Prometheus Unbound*, Bk. IV, l. 551.

patriotic sources. The system seems to be a heritage from St. John Chrysostom,⁸⁰ from whom it was borrowed by the author of the *De visitatione infirmorum*⁸¹ and later by St. Anselm⁸² and St. Bernard.⁸³ The CP author may have taken it from the fourteenth-century Dominican John of Tambach,⁸⁴ to whose version his own is close.

The CP text next admonishes the reader to die, when the time comes, "wilfully & gladly, without any gruchchynge or contradiction." The authority for this sentiment is the Father by adoption, the younger Seneca,⁸⁵ more often cited than any of the authentic Fathers for his thoughts on death.⁸⁶ His stress upon resignation is here less strong, perhaps, than upon the folly of trying to escape the inevitable.⁸⁷

The discussion of "the cunnyng for to dye well" is based upon the famous death chapter in Suso's *Horologium sapientiae*.⁸⁸ The gist of this "most prophetable of all cunnyng" comes straight from Suso, unwarped by any intermediary handling: "To cun dey is to haue a herte & a soule, euer redy vp to godward, þat whan þat euer deth com he may be founden a-redy, & withoute any retraccion or with-

⁸⁰ *Ad populum Antiochenum*, Homil. VII, *PG*, XLIX, 92.

⁸¹ *PL*, XL, 1151.

⁸² *Meditatio VII*, *PL*, CLVIII, 795.

⁸³ *Sermones de diversis*, XXVIII, *PL*, CLXXXIII, 619. See also the *Speculum laicorum*, ed. by Welter, p. 76, and the *Speculum Christiani*, ed. by Holmstedt, p. 58.

⁸⁴ Helmut Appel, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

⁸⁵ *YW*, II, 407.

⁸⁶ *Flores doctorum*, an early Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations*, contains seven pages of citations from Seneca on death, although not more than two pages from any of the Fathers. For Seneca on the subject of dying "gladly" see Epistles XXXI and LIV. Marcus Aurelius, who shares the idea, puts it in a new way: "If you are dismissed from the stage after playing in only three acts instead of five, you should "depart with a good grace, for he that dismisses thee is gracious" (Hayward, *Marcus Aurelius, a Saviour of Men*, p. 243). Elsewhere he says that to murmur against death is palpably to have failed in life. Death must be rejoiced in; if possible, be hugged in the arms of Thanksgiving (*ibid.*, p. 238).

⁸⁷ Publius Syrus, however, is evidently the author of one quotation attributed to Seneca: "Feras non culpes, quod immutare non vales" (*Sententiae*, Berlin, 1880, p. 44). See *YW*, II, 408. Chaucer also speaks through Theseus of the folly of him who "gruccheth" against anything so inevitable as death" (Knight's Tale, ll. A3041-45).

⁸⁸ The CP author need not, of course, have known the *Horologium* at first hand, but may have taken his quotations from such a book as the *Speculum spiritualium* in Bodl. MS 450, a monk's compilation from many sources, including Walter Hilton, Rolle, and Suso (*A Summary Catalogue of Western MSS in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 348). This is evidently a different work from the book of the same name printed at Paris in 1510, which, however, contained not merely quotations from Suso, but his whole chapter on dying.

drawynge receyue hym as a man wold receyue his welbelouyd & trusti frende⁸⁹ & felow þat he had long abyd and lokid after."

Part II — The secund chapter is of þe temptacion[s] of men that dyene — Because of the terrible significance of the temptations in the art of dying, they were no doubt regarded by the medieval reader as the high spot of the *Ars moriendi*. As a literary device the picture of a man attacked by a series of temptations is as old as the Book of Job and as young as *Murder in the Cathedral*. Its most noble example is Matthew 4: 1-11, which tells of the temptation of Christ; its most popular, *Pilgrim's Progress*; its most dramatic, *Doctor Faustus*; its most literary, *Samson Agonistes*.⁹⁰ In none of these writings, however, is the victim of temptation stretched upon his bed in death or tempted with the five vices of the *Ars moriendi*.

Nor is the source of them to be found in the Church Fathers, although patristic literature has a good deal to say about the five vices, especially impatience and despair.⁹¹ Only St. Gregory, chief authority on the devil and his wiles,⁹² has written much of the grievousness of deathbed temptation,⁹³ and this without specifying the nature of it.⁹⁴

It is very probably in the liturgy that the description of successive temptations encountered by the dying had its origin. In Dirk van

⁸⁹ The comparison of death to a friend goes back to Boethius (I, *Metrum* 1, 13). Bacon also uses it in his essay "On Death." Marcus Aurelius had found death transformed by immortality into "friend, lover, bride" (Hayward, *op. cit.*, p. 241).

⁹⁰ A conventional instance of the device is to be found in Guthlac. Walter Hilton enumerates the five temptations to be encountered on the way to Jerusalem, two of them, despair and vainglory, the temptations of the *Ars moriendi* (*The Scale of Perfection*, pp. 311-14).

⁹¹ St. Augustine has written more fully than the other Fathers, perhaps, on the gravity of despair. He has also written of patience, but his "sentences" on the virtue are not so well known as those of Tertullian (whose *De patientia* was possibly a source of the Pearl Poet); Sts. Jerome and Gregory, both of whom have written long commentaries on Job (*PL*, XXVI, 655, and LXXV-LXXVI); and St. Isidore, whose *Liber scintillarum* contains much on the subject (*PL*, LXXXVIII, 682).

⁹² See Dudden, *Gregory the Great, His Place in History and Thought*, II, 367-68.

⁹³ *Moralia*, XXIII, 30. Smaragdus also makes mention of the point (*PL*, CII, 628). For a discussion of deathbed devils in Middle English literature see Theodore Spencer, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-13. The demon's anxiety because he works against time is probably from the Scriptures: ". . . the devil is come down upon you, having great wrath, knowing that he hath but a short time" (Apoc. 12:12).

⁹⁴ The Fathers have been specific about temptations not confined to the death bed. See St. Ambrose, *Expositionis in Lucam*, Lib. IV, *PL*, XV, 1701, and St. Gregory, *Moralium*, xi, cap. 44, *PL*, LXXV, 980.

Delft's *De Tafel van den Kersten Ghelove* there is, besides the chapter on the art of dying,⁹⁵ a section on the administration of extreme unction;⁹⁶ and here are to be found deathbed temptations to infidelity and despair⁹⁷ perhaps four years before Gerson's *Opusculum*.⁹⁸ The presence of similar inclusions in later liturgical books would indicate, moreover, that the temptations were sometimes a part of the agenda for the dying in some dioceses before the standardization of the ritual by Pope Paul V in 1614.⁹⁹ They are present in a *Manuale divinorum officiorum*, published for the Carmelites at Evreux in 1606,¹⁰⁰ and they appear as late as 1776 in the ritual of the diocese of Châlons.¹⁰¹ How they got into the liturgy it is hard to say; it was always implicit in the teaching of the Church on extreme unction that one great effect of the sacrament was to strengthen the soul against the attacks of the evil spirit,¹⁰² but there is nothing like a series of

⁹⁵ Pt. I, "Literary Forerunners."

⁹⁶ *De Tafel* was a compendium of faith with the usual divisions of compendia as well as other devotional points.

⁹⁷ Dirk van Delft gives also a third temptation—against faith in the divinity of Christ. There are also three inspirations of the angel against these temptations, in anticipation of the QS version. (See Daniëls's ed., III² (ch. xxxviii), 470 ff.)

⁹⁸ The Morgan MS of *De Tafel* is dated 1404. The *Opusculum* is generally dated about 1408. See Pt. I, "The Question of Authorship."

⁹⁹ The temptations, however, did not always occur. In the rituals printed by Martène (*De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*) and Gerbert (*Monumenta veteris liturgiae Alemannicae*) they do not appear. In the standardization of the ritual, as well as in earlier *ordines*, the presence of the demon in the sick room is recognized and attacked by exhortation. See Martène, *op. cit.* XIII (I, lib. VII, cap. iv) and XXI, *ibid.* Also the Sarum Use, Maskell, *op. cit.*, I, 66 ff., and the present Roman ritual, "De visitatione et cura infirmorum," Pt. VII.

¹⁰⁰ The *approbatio* is dated 1590. There is a copy of the ritual at Harvard. It should be stated, however, that the temptations of this ritual have much in common with those of the *Ars moriendi* and thus may be based upon them. There are also passages taken from Gerson's *De arte moriendi*.

¹⁰¹ This ritual is much fuller than that of Pope Paul V. The instruction is given partly in Latin, partly in French. I can find influence of the *Ars moriendi* only in the nature of some of the temptations (it is interesting to note that an earlier ritual of Châlons contained a verbatim passage from Gerson's *De arte moriendi*, Pt. IV, Martène, *op. cit.*, I, 344). There is a copy at Harvard. A ritual of Passau, 1482, and one with identical text (Nuremberg, 1482), copies of which are in the Congressional Library, have sections on deathbed temptations, but these are a very brief résumé of the QS text. The title of these books is "Tractatus brevis et utilis pro infirmis visitandis."

¹⁰² See Sess. XIV, can. 11, "De Extrema Unctione," Council of Trent. Also *CE*, V, 726, and Hasak, *Der christliche Glaube des deutschen Volkes*, p. 336. Also Pohle, *The Sacraments*, IV, 25, for the "Decretum pro Armenis" of Pope Eugene IV (1439), which discusses the subject.

formal temptations in the early sacramentaries — not in the Leonine, the Gelasian, or the later Gregorian.¹⁰³ Perhaps the compiler of a local ritual with more dramatic turn of mind than his predecessors hit upon the plan of emphasizing the danger of the temptations by substituting for mere suggestions a picture of the actual combat.¹⁰⁴

The matter used in the section on temptations is chiefly from the Scriptures and the Fathers, with added citations from the later ecclesiastical writers. Of the temptation against faith the Bible and St. Augustine are the principal sources, although an important passage on the powerlessness of the devil to "nōy þe ne prevale ayence no mane in no wise as longe as he hath vse of his free will,"¹⁰⁵ probably derives from St. Ambrose,¹⁰⁶ and one on the power of faith, ultimately from St. Mark,¹⁰⁷ may have come to the author also from St. John Chrysostom.¹⁰⁸ The instruction to say the Creed in a high voice "whan [a] man is in his agonye or stryfe of dyinge,"¹⁰⁹ goes back to the liturgy, where it frequently is to be found.¹¹⁰

The Old Testament and St. Austin contribute also to the second temptation, but the most striking passages come from Pope Innocent III's *De vilitate conditionis humane*¹¹¹ and from St. Bernard.¹¹² The

¹⁰³ See Muratori, *Liturgia Romana vetus*.

¹⁰⁴ It seems improbable that Dirk van Delft was this compiler, since Father Daniëls has shown him to be a faithful follower of sources. Father Daniëls at first attributed Dirk van Delft's use of the temptations to "Matthew of Cracow's" work on the art of dying (see Daniëls, *Meester Dirc van Delf*, p. 75). In his edition of *De Tafel* Father Daniëls omitted this false attribution and said only "bron onbekend" (III², 473).

¹⁰⁵ *YW*, II, 409. ¹⁰⁶ *Expositionis in Lucam*, lib. IV, *PL*, XV, 1703.

¹⁰⁷ "Omnia possibilia sunt credenti." *Mark*, 9:22. ¹⁰⁸ See *PG*, LXI, 650-51.

¹⁰⁹ *YW*, II, 409. ¹¹⁰ See Martène, for example, *op. cit.*, *Ordo XXX*.

¹¹¹ Although the CP author says "in his þrid boke of þe wrecchidnesse of mankynd," the citation comes from the second book, last chapter (*PL*, CCXVII, 736).

¹¹² *YW*, II, 410. "What man is it þat schuld not be rauysshed & draw to hope & to haue full confidence in god, & he take heed diligently of the disposicione of Cristis body in the crosse; take heed & see his heed enclyned toalue the, his mouth to kysse the, his armes I-spred to be-clyp the, his hondis I-thrilled to yeue the, his syde opened to loue the, his body alonge straught to yeue all hymselfe to the." See St. Bernard, "In Feria IV Hebdomadae Sanctae sermo," *PL*, CLXXXIII, 270. A passage of this kind occurs in the chapter on love in the *Ancren Riwle* (ed. in "King's Classics," pp. 304-5). For English lyrics with something of the same theme see Brown, *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century*, p. 160 ("My hondes for þe on þe crosse bene spredde . . ."), and Comper, ed., *Spiritual Songs*, No. 69. In his preface to Miss Comper's modernizations the Reverend George Congreve comments upon the reverence and tenderness of these lines and those that follow (*The Book of the Craft of Dying*, xxiv-xxv). In the *Gast of Gy* the position of Christ's Body on the Cross is a shield between the repentant sinner and the devil's malice.

Profession of faith or intention by the question and answer method is a very ancient and very common practice in the usage of the Church. Today it enters into even nonsacramental rites, such as the profession of nuns and the admission of lay folk into devotional societies, but it is most intimately connected with the administration of the sacraments. Of four out of the seven it is an essential part: the baptizandus or his sponsor is interrogated; so is the bishop during his consecration; so, of course, are bride and groom; and the candidate for confirmation is required to make a profession of faith. At one time or other, moreover, it entered into the administration of the other three. Bede tells us that Caedmon, before receiving Viaticum, asked whether those about him bore any ill-will toward him and was asked in turn the same question by them.¹³⁰ The old Confessionals contained long, detailed lists of sins by which the priest aided the penitent in examination of conscience.¹³¹ The sick, before being anointed, were asked why they had called the priest and whether they wished anointing;¹³² and if they lived in a locality whose "use" prescribed it, they were also asked a set of questions like those of the *Ars moriendi*.

The affirmative answer to these was really the equivalent of acts of faith, hope, and charity and was therefore of paramount importance to the dying man, whatever the circumstances of his dying. Strange, indeed, if a book teaching one how to die when the aid of the Church was unobtainable should omit them. Moriens, having learned them "in heal," might with little effort recall them in time of sickness;¹³³ or his friends might ask them of him and evoke salutary sentiments in

¹³⁰ See his history, Bk. IV, ch. xxiv.

¹³¹ A *confessionale* by Bartholomaeus of Chaym was also known as an *interrogatorium*. This work ran into fifteen editions (see Geffcken, *op. cit.*, I, 35). Dunbar wrote a "Tabill of Confession" containing long lists of sins. See ed. by Baildon, No. 81, p. 187.

¹³² Some early rituals direct that a dying man be removed from bed, laid upon sackcloth and ashes, and asked by the priest, "Art thou content with sackcloth and ashes in testimony of the penance before the Lord in the day of judgment?" To which he answered, "I am content" (see Gerbert, *op. cit.*, pp. 1010-11. Also Alcuin's (?) ritual, *Liber de divinis officiis*, *PL*, CI, 1277-78). Also the *Ordinale* and *Customary* of the Benedictine Nuns of Barking Abbey, "Publications of the Henry Bradshaw Society," LXVI, 337.

¹³³ Who so euer is not askyd of a nother man of thes seven interrogacions when he is in such a perell of deth, for there be ryght fewe þat have þe kunnynge of this crafte of dyinge, he most remembre hym-selfe [in his soule & aske hym-selfe], & sotely fele & considre where he be so disposed as it is above seyd or no . . . , " *YW*, II, 414.

his heart even though he were capable of answering only "yea" or merely of "some vtterly sygne."¹³⁴

The interrogations appear in medieval local liturgies¹³⁵ up to the first official ritual (1614),¹³⁶ and there is every reason to believe that it was from such a source that the author of the *Ars moriendi* took one of the two sets of Part III. He ascribes them, however, to St. Anselm,¹³⁷ to whose name they have persistently clung.¹³⁸ Among St. Anselm's works two sets of such questions are to be found—one for a dying religious, the other for a dying secular, the first of which are with modifications the earlier set of the *Ars moriendi*.¹³⁹ What follows them in St. Anselm is also in the *Ars moriendi*—passages from the Psalms and a prayer for Moriens to say when terrified at the remembrance of his sins: "Lord I put the deth of oure lord Ihesu Crist betwene me & myn euell dedis, be-twene me and thi Iugement. . . ."¹⁴⁰

St. Anselm may have written the *Admonitio morienti* attributed to him, but he is not the originator of the interrogations for a dying man. The famous compilation of ecclesiastical law and moral theology known as the *Decreta* of Burchardus, the saintly bishop of Worms (d. 1025),¹⁴¹ contains five questions for the visitation of the sick, not identical with the Anselm Questions, but intended like them to arouse sentiments of faith, hope, and charity. The appearance of these interrogations in the *ordines* of Martène would indicate their wide circulation.¹⁴²

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 417.

¹³⁵ See Gerbert, *op. cit.*, and Martène, *op. cit.* Also see Franz, *Das Rituale von St. Florian*, p. 196. ¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

¹³⁷ ". . . as Ancellyne þe bisshop techith . . .," *YW*, II, 412.

¹³⁸ Franz says that from the thirteenth century MS tradition unanimously regards him as the author (*Das Rituale von St. Florian*, p. 196). Archbishop Ussher knew them as St. Anselm's. See *De Christianorum ecclesiarum successione & statu*, VII, 98. But in a "Handbuch der Priesterbrüderschaft von St. Marien in Danzig," MS Mar. Q2, in the Marienbibliothek in Danzig, the "Commendacio et doctrina qualiter moriturus est interrogandus" is attributed also to St. Augustine (see the catalogue of MSS by Günther, V, 462).

¹³⁹ *PL*, CLVIII, 685-88. A significant omission is the one question specifically for religious: *Gaudes quod moreris in habitu monachii?*

¹⁴⁰ *YW*, II, 413. A *Horae* MS in York Minster Library contains this prayer in verse beginning: "Lorde iesu cryste, leuand god sone þu set þi deyd, þi cros, and þi passione Be-twix þi dome and my saul for deyd þat I haue done Now [and] at my endyng þat I be noght fordon." See Patterson, *The Middle English Penitential Lyric*, p. 66, No. 10. See also the poem "Do merci bifore thi Iugement," EETS, 24, OS, 21, lls. 95-96.

¹⁴¹ *PL*, CXL, 934 ff.

¹⁴² *Op. cit.*, I, 304, 327-28, 343.

Eduard Diederich, who has investigated the sources of Burchard, has discovered little about the book in which the visitation of the sick is to be found.¹⁴³ The *argumentum libri*, however, offers some evidence that the roots of the interrogations lie earlier than Burchard, perhaps in the fourth canon of the Council of Nantes supposed to have been held in the seventh or the eighth century.¹⁴⁴

The fact that Burchard repeats the questions in his chapter on the sacrament of penance¹⁴⁵ and that they occur in some of Martène's *ordines* for that sacrament¹⁴⁶ suggests they might have belonged originally with penance. Since in the early centuries of the Church extreme unction was allied to confession for the sick as a supplementary sacrament, it is not hard to see how they were transferred to the rite of last anointing.

Several Middle English works besides the *Crafte of Dyeng* and the two Caxton versions of the *Ars moriendi* contain the Anselm Questions: the English *Visitatio infirmorum*,¹⁴⁷ Myrc's *Instructions for Parish Priests*,¹⁴⁸ and an *Admonitio morienti*, attributed, perhaps not

¹⁴³ *Das Dekret des Bischofs Burchard von Worms*. Neither the Gelasian nor Gregorian Sacramentary contains any interrogations for the sick. But Msgr. Duchesne regards the Gregorian Sacramentary as a pontifical, or pope's *ordo*, wherein a ritual for visiting the sick would have no place (see Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, p. 117).

¹⁴⁴ After the seven penitential psalms and prayers for the sick the canon reads: "... omnes jubeat extra cubiculum sededere; & appropinquans lecto, quo infirmus decumbit, eum blande leniterque alloquatur, ut omnes spem suam in Deo ponat, ut flagellum Dei patienter toleret, ut hoc ad purgationem & castigationem suam provenire credat, ut peccata sua confiteatur ut emendationem promittat, si Dominus vitam concesserit: poenitentiam pro culpis commissis spondeat; ut substantiam suam, dum adhuc sensus & ratio in eo vigent, disponat: ut peccata sua eleemosynis redimat, ut his qui in se peccaverunt indulget: et rectam fidem et credulitatem teneat, ut de Dei misericordia numquam desperet. Cum his & hujuscemodi allocationibus fuerit mens infirmi elevata, data benedictione recedat sacerdos, non post multum reversurus: detque locum ut aegrotus de peccatis suis possit cogitare" (Harduin, *Coll. Conc.*, VI, 458). It is to be noted that this canon contains all the points in the interrogations attributed to St. Anselm. Eisenhofer says that the synod was held after 656, but before the mid-ninth century (*Handbuch der Katholischen Liturgik*, II, 349). ¹⁴⁵ *PL*, CXL, 950.

¹⁴⁶ *Op. cit.*, I, 278, 280. They also appear in the rite for confession in a MS, presumably of the tenth century, for the visitation of the sick. *PL*, CXXXVIII, 990.

¹⁴⁷ See *YW*, II, 452.

¹⁴⁸ EETS, 31, OS, 56, from Cotton MS Claudius A II, f. 149v. They are in couplets:

"Art thou fayn, my broþer, say,
bat þow dyest in crysten fay? . . ."
"Forþynkeþ þe, telle me þys,
bat þou hast lad by lyf a-mys . . ."

The answer to each of the seven questions is "Ye."

without foundation, to Richard Rolle.¹⁴⁹ They occur separately in MS Cambr. U. Ff. v. 40, f. 116, as St. Anselm's dialogue between "a seke man langwissende to the deth and his prest,"¹⁵⁰ and are to be found also in the old service books.¹⁵¹

In the sixteenth century they were still to be found, not only in the rituals¹⁵² but also in actual use — as at the deathbed of Pico della Mirandola.¹⁵³ In the seventeenth century William Crashaw, father of the poet, gave them warm praise,¹⁵⁴ and the confessor of the Benedictine nun Dame Gertrude More, great-granddaughter of St. Thomas More, put them to her as she lay dying among the exiles at Cambrai.¹⁵⁵ I have even found a version of the questions in rituals of Mainz (1671 and 1696), Constance (1766), and Liège (1782), and in a Paris ritual of 1803.¹⁵⁶

The second, and longer, set of interrogations in the CP text, which the author regards as the more satisfactory test of the sentiments of

¹⁴⁹ *YW*, I, 107-8, from MS Rawl. C. 285, f. 61.

¹⁵⁰ The interrogations were often circulated separately. They are in MS Lansdowne 762, f. 21b (EETS, 31, OS, 63), and in Latin in Vienna MS 4694, ff. 5a-6b.

¹⁵¹ See Wordsworth and Littlehales, *The Old Service Books of the Medieval Church*, p. 54. The fifteenth-century BM Manual, MS 32 (ed. EETS, 90, OS), contains, among English fragments from Latin medieval service books, fourteen questions to be asked of a dying man, but all on the articles of faith. A sixteenth-century dialogue on the sacraments, supposedly between Guillermus Parisiensis and Pietro de Champagni, insists upon the knowledge of the fourteen articles for the reception of extreme unction. The *Book of Common Prayer*, following the Sarum Use, ordains that for the service for visiting the sick the minister shall make a statement of each article and the sick man shall make his profession of faith in it.

¹⁵² See in *Codex liturgicus ecclesiae universae* (ed. by Daniel) the Mainz ritual of 1513 (I, 320n). There are questions for the dying in Latin and Breton in a Breton missal of 1526, and in Latin and French in a "vulgus manuale" of Verdun, 1554 (f. xxxviii). A Dominican *ordo* of Venice, 1545, contains eighteen interrogations, concerned chiefly with sorrow for specific sins. There are copies of these early books in the Morgan Library.

¹⁵³ See Pico's biography by his nephew, translated into English by St. Thomas More, ed. by J. M. Riggs, p. 24.

¹⁵⁴ He copied them, together with the prayers that follow, from the *Ars moriendi* and from "another old Booke," "in most evill time, about the Councell of Constence," into his *Manuall for true Catholicks*, pp. 47 ff. Although his hatred for the "Romish Clergy" was intense, he found in the stress which the questions laid upon the merits of Christ as the true means of salvation a vestige of primitive Christianity. There is a copy of the *Manuall* in the Harvard Library.

¹⁵⁵ This was in 1623. Dame Gertrude was the daughter of Crisacre More (see *The Inner Life and Writings of Dame Gertrude More*, p. 269).

¹⁵⁶ There is a copy at Harvard.

the average man,¹⁵⁷ are an amplification and rearrangement of those in Gerson's *De arte moriendi*, with some slight additions taken probably from the Anselm Questions.¹⁵⁸ A few printed editions of the CP text¹⁵⁹ contain at the very end a third version of the set attributed to St. Anselm, under the title "signa sex quibus homo potest confidere de salute."

In the QS the questions, which appear in the summary introduction, lose their interrogatory form.¹⁶⁰ The material in them is for the most part that of the second set in the CP, but very briefly expressed.

Part IV — The IIIIth chapiter conteyneth ane instruccion with certeyne obsecracion to hem þat schullen dye: The "instruccion" is based on St. Gregory's "euery doyng of Crist ys oure instruccion & technyng,"¹⁶¹ with particular reference to Our Lord's actions on the Cross. "And Crist dyd fyve þingis in the crois: he prayed. . . . In manus

¹⁵⁷ "But thouȝ þese interrogacions above-seyd be competent and sufficient to religiouse [and deuoute persones, neuertheles all crysten men bothe seculers and religiouse], after the doctour the noble clerke the chaunceller of Parise, in her laste end schuld be examyned, enquired and informed more certeynly [& clerly] of the state [&] þe hele of hir soule[s]. . . ." *YW*, II, 413.

¹⁵⁸ The last question in the second set—"Belevist þou fully þat Crist dyed for the & þat þou maist neuer be saued but by the merite of Cristis passion, and þankist þereof god with þin hert as much as þou canst or maist?"—is not in Gerson, but is a combination of the fifth, seventh, and eighth questions of St. Anselm. Gerson's questions on restitution of ill-gotten goods and forgiveness of enemies are not in St. Anselm, but exhortation on the subject was as early as the eleventh century part of the *agenda* for the visitation of the sick. An Anglo-Saxon ritual in MS Laud 482 contains the following: "Aerost þinȝa þu most þa diȝolnessa þines modes seofan þurh soðre eadmodnesse ȝeyppan and unþeawa geswicenesse behatan, and ȝif heofena waldend þine lif-dagas ȝe-lencȝan wylle medeme daedbote underfon. . . . Gif he þonne wurulcund man sy, þonne secȝe him se maesse-preost, þaet he mot aerost his hiwraedenne dihtan, þaet is, þaet he sceal his þing becweðan and his synna smalice ȝeyppan, and if hwa wið him aȝylte, zemiltsian by zedda, þe him synna forȝifend zemiltsize. . . ." See Fehr, *Altenglische Ritualtexte für Krankenbesuch, Heilige Ölung and Begräbnis*, "Texte und Forschungen zur englische Kulturgeschichte," p. 50. Lingard refers to this or a similar ritual, *The Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, p. 156.

¹⁵⁹ For instance the editions printed by Heinrich Quentell at Cologne with the title *Speculum artis bene moriendi*.

¹⁶⁰ "Ante omnia ergo inducatur moriturus ad ea que necessario ad salutem requiruntur. Primo ut credat sicut bonus cristianus credere debet letus quoque quod in fide christi et ecclesie morietur unitate et obedientia. Secundo ut recognoscatur se deum graviter offendisse et inde doleat, etc."

¹⁶¹ The imitation of Christ is a favorite point with St. Gregory. See *XL Homiliarum in Evangelio*, Lib. I, Homil. II (PL, LXXVI, 1085); *Dialogorum*, Lib. I, cap. IX (PL, LXXVII, 192).

tuas . . . and he cryed in the crosse . . . also he wept in the cross; also he commyt his soule to his fader in the cros; also he yaf vp wilfully the gost in the crosse.”¹⁶²

I have been able to find no more immediate source for the passage than St. Gregory. Its elaboration is very likely the work of the CP author himself, writing when the Redemption was the subject of so much poetry and painting and when the personal love of Christ was so great an impetus to personal holiness.¹⁶³

The “certeyne obsecracionis” are short prayers to be said by Moriens himself¹⁶⁴ to the Trinity, God the Father, God the Son, the Blessed Virgin, and the angels, most of them taken from the third division of Gerson’s *De arte moriendi*. These are followed by a prayer “ascryved to seynt Austene” and designed for the dying.¹⁶⁵

The fourth part, like most of the others, may have circulated separately, for it is to be found in Lat. MS Vienna 3009, f. 216b.¹⁶⁶

Part V — The fyfte chapiter conteyneth an instruccion vnto hem þat shullen dye: The principal source of Part V, which is, in spite of the title, addressed chiefly to the friends of the dying man, is the fourth division of *De arte moriendi* of Gerson. Perhaps the most interesting of Gerson’s contributions here is his warning against deceiving sick men with false assurances of their recovery: “oft-tymes bi such a veyne & a false cherynge & comfortyng & feyned behotynge of bodyly helth, & trystynge þervponn, men ryn and fall in to certeyne dampnacion euerlastingly.”¹⁶⁷ Gerson is not the originator of the dictum, since Suso used it also in his death chapter,¹⁶⁸ but it was probably

¹⁶² *YW*, II, 414.

¹⁶³ Mâle attributes the new devotion to the Passion to the preaching of Franciscans and Dominicans (*Revue des deux mondes*, XXXII, April, 1906, p. 652). No better illustration of it can be found than the early lyric poetry. (See Patterson, *op. cit.*, and Brown, *Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century*. The best instance in the *Ars moriendi* is the passage in the second temptation, quoted *supra*.)

¹⁶⁴ But if he cannot say them, “lett som man þat is about hym sey hem be-fore hym as he may clerely here hym sey hem, chaungyng þe wordis þat ought to be chaunged in his seyinge; and he þat is dy[ing], also longe as he haþe vse of reasone, lett hym prey deuouȝtly within hym-selfe with his herte & his desire as he cann & may: & so yeld þe gost vp to god, & he shalbe sauued.” *YW*, II, 415.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.* ¹⁶⁶ In the MS it is called “Gregorius Magnus Papa, Sententia quaedam.”

¹⁶⁷ *YW*, II, 416.

¹⁶⁸ From MS Douce 114, *Anglia*, X, 361-62. “—þus þe frendes of the bodye ben enmyes of the soule: ffor what-tyme þe sicknes contynuelly encreseth and hee þat is seke euere

from Gerson that it passed into the rituals, where it is commonly found.¹⁶⁹ It has further significance in that the attribution, "as the gret clerke the chaunceler of Parise seiþe," has served both to destroy Gerson's claim to the authorship of the *Ars moriendi*¹⁷⁰ and also to introduce a tendency to date the work during the period of Gerson's chancellorship (1395-1419).¹⁷¹

Allied in thought to the citation from Gerson are two from the decretal of an unnamed pope — (1) "bodyly syknes commyþ of the siknes of the soule," (2) "euery bodyly lech . . . ȝeue no sekman no bodyly medicyn, vnto þe tyme þat he haue warned & inducid hym to sech his spirituall lech."¹⁷² The pope is Innocent III,¹⁷³ and the decretal is the twenty-second chapter of the statutes of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215).¹⁷⁴

Probably the ultimate source of the first quotation is St. John's gospel,¹⁷⁵ but Pope Innocent may have taken it from one of several intermediary writers who comment upon the scriptural passage.¹⁷⁶

The warning against giving bodily aid for a sick man precedence

hopith of a-mendemente, atte þe laste sodeynly hee failith and with-oute fruyte of hele ȝeldith vp þe wrecched soule."

¹⁶⁹ See the service for the visitation of the sick in the present Roman ritual, Pt. X.

¹⁷⁰ For he would hardly refer to himself in that way.

¹⁷¹ Because of Gerson's supposed absorption in the great councils of the Church from 1409 to 1419, several writers have accepted the date of his *Opusculum* as not after 1408. Schreiber says that since Caxton referred to Gerson as chancellor of Paris as late as 1491, the use of the title would not indicate the date of the *Ars moriendi* (*Manuel de l'amateur de la gravure*, IV, 254).

¹⁷² *YW*, II, 416. The English *Visitatio infirmorum* varies the idea a little: "þat no leche schulde ȝeue bodyliche medycyne to a seek man, but ȝef he were in wille to take goostliche medycyne" (*YW*, II, 450).

¹⁷³ Pope Innocent is quoted also in Part II of the CP, and in several MSS in Munich—11587, 11741, and 11748—the *Ars moriendi* is attributed to him.

¹⁷⁴ Hardouin, *op. cit.*, VII, 38.

¹⁷⁵ 5:14.

¹⁷⁶ For example, St. Ambrose says "ostendens causa peccati aliquando infirmitates inferri corporibus" (*Comment. in Epist. I ad Timoth.*, ch. 1, *PL*, XVII, 491). Bede uses I Corinth. 11:30 to prove that because of sins committed in the soul men are stricken with sickness, and even death, of the body ("Super Divi Jacobi Epistolam," *PL*, XCIII, 39). Thomas Fuller, writing a thousand years later (1640) upon the same subject, is more sweeping: "All sicknesses of the body proceed from the sin of the soul" (*Joseph's Party-coloured Coat*, p. 89), and Jeremy Taylor says in *Holy Dying* that in a hospital one sees the effects of Adam's sin (ch. 1, s. 4). The English *Visitatio infirmorum* is more cheerful: ". . . and if ȝe be wel schrive and veray repentunt I drede nouȝt that the sekenes shal aslake wiche he hath for Sinne" (Maskell, *op. cit.*, III, 354).

over spiritual aid received wide circulation in the Middle Ages¹⁷⁷ and is one of the most frequently repeated directions in the Protestant books on dying in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁷⁸

A strange feature of the fifth part of this book which purported to teach men to die is the discussion of the uncertainty of deathbed repentance.¹⁷⁹ Many Fathers have written on this subject, but because of the fame and the frequency of St. Augustine's remarks upon it, he is regarded as the chief authority.¹⁸⁰ To all appearances it was even for him an exceedingly difficult subject to pronounce upon: overstress on the mercy of God might lead men to presume; on His justice, to despair.¹⁸¹ There is, however, such a thing as "verry repentance"¹⁸² for a sinner on his deathbed; and it is so that Moriens may be ready to evoke this in his heart, when he shall be unfortunate enough to need it, that the CP author introduces the question at all.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁷ The Gregorian Sacramentary directs that the hymn "Christe coelestis medicina Patris" be chanted to the sick (*PL*, LXXVIII, 235). Richard Poore, bishop of Salisbury and possible author of the *Ancren Riwle*, quotes Pope Innocent's decretal in his Constitutions of 1217 (Hardouin, *op. cit.*, VII, 88). So does Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury in 1236 (*ibid.*, p. 271). A *conte dévot* by Jean Herolt fifteenth-century Dominican, tells of a friar of evil life who, becoming sick, took bodily medicine and immediately died. Our Lady secured him a chance to return to earth to do penance. See the edition by G. C. Swinton Bland, N. Y., 1928, No. LVIII, pp. 82-83.

¹⁷⁸ The Puritan William Perkins complains that the physician is sent for first, "and the Minister comes when a man is halfe dead, and is then sent for oftentimes when the sick partie lies drawing on and gasping for breath, as though ministers of the gospel in these daies were able to work miracles" (*Salve for a Sicke Man*, p. 502). The Presbyterian Richard Baxter dispenses with the minister, but asks that the physician take over the spiritual welfare of the dying man together with the physical: "O help, therefore, to fit your patients for heaven! and, whether you see they are for life or death, teach them both how to live and die . . ." (*The Saints' Everlasting Rest*, p. 170).

¹⁷⁹ *YW*, II, 416. Suggestion for the inclusion of this matter may have come to the CP author from Suso (see *Anglia*, X, 360).

¹⁸⁰ *Sermones* CLIV (*PL*, XXXIX, 2046), CCLVI (*ibid.*, p. 2217), CCLVII (*ibid.*, p. 2220). St. Augustine was frequently quoted on the subject of late repentance. See Peter the Lombard's *Sentences* IV, 20, 1 (*PL*, CXCII, 892); Burchard's *Decretum* (*PL*, CXL, 940). Even in post-Reformation times he was still the authority.

¹⁸¹ The same problem arises in the temptations.

¹⁸² St. Augustine uses the penitent thief as an example of true repentance, which springs from love as well as fear (*De vera et falsa penitentia*, a dubious work, *PL*, XL, 1127).

¹⁸³ The folly of postponing repentance till one's deathbed is condemned by many post-Reformation authors, and rarely do they offer hope of salvation for any sinner who procrastinates. Sir Walter Raleigh is most discouraging on the subject (*Selections from His Historie of the World*, pp. 51-52). In the funeral sermon over Bishop Hall, J. Whitefoot says that not one deathbed penitent in a hundred is a true penitent, and he calls on St. Augustine to prove the foolishness of deferred repentance (*Deaths Alarums*, p. 50). The

Part VI — The sixte Chapiter conteyneth praiers þat shullen be seid vpon hem þat bene a-dyinge of som man þat is abowt him: The prayers in this section are of liturgical origin. One of them, the *Reconciliatio poenitentis ad mortem* ("Mercifull & benigne god, þat for þe michellnes of þi mercies doyst aweye þe synnes of hem þat be verry repentaunte"), goes back to the Gelasian Sacramentary (494) and is to be found in the old formulas of the English Church.¹⁸⁴ Another, the *Proficiscere anima Christiana* ("Go, Cristen soule, out of þis world, in the name of þe almyȝty fader þat made þe of nouȝt, in þe name of Ihesu Criste his sone þat suffred his passion for þe, [& in þe name of þe] holy gost, þat was infounded into þe . . ."),¹⁸⁵ goes back to the eighth century.¹⁸⁶ Several are in the present liturgy, including the *Commendacio anime* ("Dere broþer, I commende þe to almyȝte god, & commyt the to hym whoes creature þou art . . .").¹⁸⁷

Before the prayers the author draws a distinction, probably his own, between care for religious and care for lay folk upon their death-beds:

"& if it be a religiouse person, þan whan þe couent is gadrid to-gidre with þe smytynge of the table as þe maner is, þan shall be seyd first the letanye with the psalmis¹⁸⁸ & orisons þat ben vsed þer-with; afterward,

Earl of Clarendon, writing of contempt of death, also quotes St. Augustine on the subject (*Essays, Moral and Entertaining*, I, 103). But Robert Greene finds encouragement in his own tardy penitence in St. Augustine's reference to the good thief. See "The Repentance of Robert Greene," *Life & Complete Works*, ed. by the Reverend Alexander B. Grosart, XII, 161 ff. Professor C. E. Saunders discusses the authenticity of this work (*PMLA*, 48, 392-417).

¹⁸⁴ See Palmer, *Origines liturgicae*, II, 227. See *YW*, II, 419-20.

¹⁸⁵ *YW*, II, 420.

¹⁸⁶ Eisenhofer, *Grundriss der katholischen Liturgik*, p. 223.

¹⁸⁷ *YW*, II, 420. This prayer is in many Books of Hours. For a long time it formed a separate booklet. Cabrol, *Les Livres de la liturgie latine*, "Bibliothèque catholique des sciences religieuses," Vol. LXXXIII, 61.

¹⁸⁸ The litany of the saints and the seven penitential psalms are commonly found in the early rituals for the care of the sick and the dying (see Lanfranc, "De aegrotantibus morti proximis," *Opera*, *PL*, CL, 508, and the *ordines* of Martène, *op. cit.*; also the second capitulary of St. Theodulph, bishop of Orleans before 812, in Villien, *The History and Liturgy of the Sacraments*, p. 211; also the Sarum Use, the *Book of Common Prayer*, and the *Rituale Romanum*. According to Blind Harry, William Wallace asked when dying for a psalter book (see *Life & Heroic Achievements of Sir William Wallace*, ed. by J. Harvey, Aberdeen, 1842, p. 199). The "gast" of Gy said that the litany and psalms, though in themselves less good than the *Pater*, *Ave*, and *Credo*, were for the dead the most efficacious prayers because the best remedies against the seven deadly sins (*YW*, II, 315). A Middle Breton Book of Hours in the Columbia Library (1524) matches the seven psalms with the seven sins. St.

if he leue yet, let som man þat is aboute hym sey the orisons that fol-
lowen after as the tyme & oportunyte will suffre. . . . But among seculers
þat be seke, lett þes praiers be seyd as deuocion & disposicion & þe
profett of hem & oþer þat ben abouȝt hem askyn & requiren, & as the
tyme woll suffre.¹⁸⁹

It ought perhaps to be remarked that for his citations from the Scriptures and patristic and other ecclesiastical writings the CP author need not necessarily have gone to the texts, but may have used one or more of the numerous books of quotations at his disposal. Two, extant in MS, would have been ideal for his purpose—a *Collectanea de morte e Patribus*¹⁹⁰ and an *Opusculum ex floribus collectum de arte moriendi*.¹⁹¹

COMPOSITION OF THE CP TEXT

Efforts to trace the process by which a medieval author put together a text must result, at least to some extent, in conjecture, but are not without value in discovering the interests of the medieval mind.

Although several of the chapters of the present text were circulated separately,¹⁹² it is not probable that these were drawn together to make the whole. The author seems rather to have taken Gerson's tract as a basis and, after amplifying it, to have added the introduction, the temptations, and the final prayers.

For the presence of the temptations, the most important and substantial of his three additions, I would account in one of two ways:

1. They may be an outgrowth of the *exhortationes* in Gerson, which otherwise the CP author has curiously ignored.¹⁹³ In spite of some slight similarity in the content¹⁹⁴ I should have been hard put to it to

Thomas More, according to Harpsfield, said the litany and psalms daily (EETS, 186, OS, 75).

¹⁸⁹ *YW*, II, 418. ¹⁹⁰ Vienna MS 4947, ff. 362b-367a.

¹⁹¹ Prague MS XIII. G. 3, 70a-79b. There are other books of quotations in Munich MSS 4350, f. 51, and 5515, f. 157, and in Leipzig MS 387, f. 57.

¹⁹² The temptations are in French in MS Vienna 3391, ff. 11a-12a, in Low German in Wolfenbüttel MS Helmst. 1254, ff. 272a-278b, and in High German in Xyl. X. The interrogations are in numerous MSS. The fourth chapter is in MS Vienna 3009, f. 216b. Deathbed prayers based on the ritual were in wide circulation.

¹⁹³ He uses practically all the other three parts.

¹⁹⁴ In substance, though not in expression, the third exhortation is like the third temptation, and the fourth exhortation is like the fifth temptation.

substantiate this first supposition had it not been for a version of Gerson extant in MS in the Library of Congress, "Die kunst des heilsamenn sterbenn,"¹⁹⁵ which suggests in several small ways the temptations of the CP text: the exhortations ("vermanungs") are five instead of four; they approximate in length, through amplification, the CP temptations; and instead of their old brief captions — "prima exhortatio," "secunda exhortatio" — they have beginnings somewhat like those of the temptations — "Nun zu dem drittenmal sol der chranck mensch vermant werden das er bedanck der gueter und die guttart die er von got emphangen hat. . . . In der vierden manung sol der chranck vermant werden an die geduld. . . . Es sol der chranck zu dem funfthenmal vermanet werden das er fluch und von im leg die unordenlich sorg des zeitlichen guts. . . ."

The chief strength of my first hypothesis is that it explains the singular omission of the exhortations of Gerson from a text containing the other three sections of his *De arte moriendi* almost in their entirety.

2. According to my second hypothesis, the CP author built up his text on the pattern of Johann Nider's *Dispositorium moriendi*¹⁹⁶ or one of the books which combined Gerson's *De arte moriendi* with a series of deathbed temptations. That there were such books is indicated by the presence of the combination in later works — for instance, the *Doctrinale de triplici morte* of John Ravlin, Antwerp, 1612,¹⁹⁷ and in the prayerbook *Hortulus anime*.¹⁹⁸

If the exhortations of Gerson suggested the use of five temptations, the CP author probably began his series on the traditional idea that the faith and hope of a dying man are the devil's first two points of attack. The earliest coupling of these which I know is in a sermon of the energetic Franciscan Blessed Berthold of Ratisbon (1210?–72), easily the greatest of the German popular preachers.¹⁹⁹ Temptations

¹⁹⁵ No. 186, ff. 75r–94r *Incip.*: Der heilig lerer sand Gregorius spricht das sel sorg ist ein kunst uber all kunst (see Ricci, *op. cit.*, I, 248).

¹⁹⁶ Pt. IV, "Contemporary Books in Latin."

¹⁹⁷ Pt. IV, "Later Catholic Books in Latin."

¹⁹⁸ Pt. III, "Typographic Editions Made in Germany."

¹⁹⁹ See Pfeiffer and Strobl's ed. of Berthold's sermons, I, 29 ff. The sermon under discussion, "Von drin Lägen," was built upon a typical medieval scheme: at each of three times in a man's life—when he comes into the world, as he passes through the world, when

to infidelity and despair are reported by the ghost of Gy as the worst trial of man on his deathbed.²⁰⁰ They are, moreover, the first two temptations in Dirk's *De Tafel van Kersten Ghelove*,²⁰¹ and also in a later play based on the *Ars moriendi*, *Buchel von dem aygen Gericht des sterbenden Menschen* (Munich, 1510).²⁰²

Having begun his series with faith and hope, the CP author²⁰³ took as the third virtue for the devil to attack the charity that was greater than either, and in the form hardest for the dying to persevere in. That he should omit patience is unlikely; it was one of the two subjects discussed by Gerson²⁰⁴ in the exhortations that could be turned into a temptation; and it had been since the time of Bede²⁰⁵ stock material for exhortation in the agenda for the sick and dying.²⁰⁶

If, as my second hypothesis supposes, it was not Gerson, but Johann Nider who inspired the temptations, then the CP author found in the *Dispositorium moriendi* faith, hope, charity, and an exhortation to patience already combined. But whatever his method of acquiring the first three, it is in the last two that his selection and treatment seem most characteristic.

At first sight it appears that he might have chosen vainglory and avarice either because of the sacred precedent of Christ's being

he goes out of the world—two snares are set for him; and it was to complete this plan of twos, perhaps, that Berthold linked the temptations against faith and hope. But he did not intend the third division of the sermon for an art of dying; he wished rather to lead his peasants to repentance while they were in good health. "Owē, bruoder Berhtolt," they cry when he warns them that at death they will be tempted against faith, "wie suln wir dar umbe getuon?" And he reassures them, "Daz kunde ich dich wol gelēren woltest dū mir volgen."

²⁰⁰ "And þe prior asked him 'What anuyȝeth most mon in the poynt of deþ?' And þe gost onswerde: 'The comynge of fenes . . . ffor to drawe men out of heore bileeue & out of heore memorie beo gryndynge of heore teeþ and heore grimlich & grisliche lokes, wȝuche Fenes casten aȝeynes men alle heor euel dedes þat þei han I-don . . .' " (YW, II, 304-5).

²⁰¹ Dirk's third temptation is against the charity that "believeth all things."

²⁰² There is a copy in the Morgan Library. See Pt. IV, "Later Catholic Books in German."

²⁰³ Of course there may have been a series of "CP authors." Perhaps one of them put together the first three temptations, and a second added the other two.

²⁰⁴ Gerson's language, however, is different from that of TImp.

²⁰⁵ PL, XCIII, 39.

²⁰⁶ See the Sarum Manual, the English *Visitatio infirmorum*, the *Book of Common Prayer*, and the *Rituale Romanum*. The fourth canon of the Council of Nantes prescribed such an exhortation; this canon might, indeed, have suggested most of the temptations as well as the interrogations.

tempted to those vices²⁰⁷ or because his mind turned, as the medieval mind so often did, to the seven deadly sins.²⁰⁸ It is much more probable, however, that he was guided by unfailing concern for those in the religious life and those out of it. Over and over through the whole CP text does he say that he is writing not merely "for religiouse but also euery good & deuouȝt cristен man,"²⁰⁹ does he lament the ignorance of the "kunnyng of this craft" of dying "not only among seculers but also in dyuerse religiouse."²¹⁰ What more natural, then, than that he should include for each class the temptation to which it would be most susceptible — vainglory for "deuoute & parfite men,"²¹¹ avarice for his lay folk?²¹²

About the CP author's work little more need be said. His interpolations in Gerson, whether borrowings or his own zealous lamenting over the indifference of men to the craft of all crafts,²¹³ are put in with little skill, especially in the fifth chapter, where the "instruccion" becomes merely a loose series of directions.

COMPOSITION OF THE QS TEXT

The QS text was made to accompany illustrations; in the closing lines of the introduction the author expressly states that the words and the pictures are to work together in teaching men how to die.²¹⁴

²⁰⁷ The temptation of Christ to gluttony could not be used here.

²⁰⁸ Of the seven sins only pride and covetousness would be likely to bother a man on his deathbed. A relation between the seven sins and the temptations is suggested in a broadside (Netherlands, 15th century?) in the British Museum—C18 E 2 (99). The entire scheme of diabolic temptation and angelic inspiration is applied to the seven sins. A photostat of the broadside is in the Columbia Library and a reproduction in Sotheby, *Principia typographia*, Vol. I, Plate XXIII, No. 1.

²⁰⁹ YW, II, 408.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 418.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 411.

²¹² In the arrangement of the five temptations there is no evidence of psychological plan, no working from gentler to more violent, which according to St. Gregory is the ordinary method of the devil (*Moralium*, XXIV, cap. 11, *PL*, LXXVI, 302; and XXXII, cap. 19, *PL*, LXXVI, p. 655). The order is, upon the contrary, somewhat anticlimactic, with petty attachment to material things following crimes as terrible as infidelity and despair. This weakness in arrangement, together with the meager content of TAV, gives strength to the idea that the last two temptations were tacked on by a later hand. Some of the incunabula change the order, shifting TAV to third place and concluding with TVG, a wise rearrangement, since "the last feeling of the soul of man is pride" (Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 387). In the *Castell of Perseverance* (EETS, 91, ES) the besetting sin of old age is avarice.

²¹³ Or perhaps he took this from Suso. Pt. I, "Literary Forerunners."

²¹⁴ Sed ut omnibus ista materia sit fructuosa et nullus ab ipsius speculacione secludantur sed inde mori salubriter discat tam litteris tantum litterato deservientibus quam imaginibus

Further, it seems probable that the illustrations were the cuts of the first block-book edition, the so-called "editio princeps," since illustrated MSS of the QS text are almost unheard of.²¹⁵

It is through iconography that the CP and QS texts are probably linked. I had believed from almost the beginning of my investigation of the *Ars moriendi* that somewhere among the private collections of western Europe there were manuscripts of the CP text with miniatures or drawings intended for uneducated lay folk, to whom the letterpress would otherwise be unintelligible.²¹⁶ Quite by accident I became acquainted through photostats with just the sort of manuscript that I was looking for, the property of the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum in London;²¹⁷ and since the CP text was so frequently copied and the passion for illustrating manuscripts was still so widespread in the fifteenth century,²¹⁸ I do not doubt that there are others.

The subjects of the drawings in the Wellcome MS are the usual eleven, five temptations, five inspirations, and the death of Moriens. The presence of the angel pictures in the CP text is not hard to account for: the series of temptations without the consoling words of the text would be for unlettered folk too terrifying; the artist therefore counteracted the terror by drawing a second series, taking his idea from the well-known deathbed scenes with devil and angel striving for the possession of the soul,²¹⁹ or from a work like Dirk van Delft's *Tafel*,²²⁰ in which deathbed temptation alternated with inspiration, or possibly from the *Psychomachia* of the sixth-century Prudentius, a poem of the struggle between the good and the evil in

laico et litterato simul deservientibus cunctorum oculis obicitur. Que duo se mutuo correspondentes habent se tanquam speculum in quo preterita et futura tamquam presentia speculantur."

²¹⁵ I have found only one, and that is of the sixteenth century.

²¹⁶ I was led to my belief in the existence of such a manuscript by Schreiber, who concludes that there are manuscript forerunners for the engravings of ES (Pt. III, "Xylographic Editions"), and by Professor Lehmann-Haupt, who has discovered many pen-and-ink parallels for the cuts of block books. The Wellcome MS pictures may themselves be copies.

²¹⁷ The photostats are now in the Morgan Library.

²¹⁸ The day of the commonplace, cheap MS had begun, however (see Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, *Dolphin*, III, 19).

²¹⁹ Pt. III, "The Illustrations."

²²⁰ Pt. I, "Literary Forerunners."

a man's heart for his soul,²²¹ or even from one of the other couplings of good and evil of which the schematizing medieval mind was so enormously fond.²²²

Between the manuscript use of the eleven subjects and the xylographic there was a series of copper engravings — the direct source of

²²¹ Under the guise of a heroic maiden each virtue faces its opposing vice in single combat. The motif had already been used by Tertullian (*Of Public Shows*, "Library of the Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church," X, 217) and by the author (St. Augustine?) of the *Liber conflictu vitiorum et virtutum* (*PL*, XL, 108); but Prudentius gave it its great popularity in literature, architecture, and painting. Among those who have used it are Dante, who suggests it in the death of Buonconte (*Purg.*, V, 103 ff.), Jacopone da Todi (Beaufreton, *op. cit.*, p. 164); the twelfth-century abbess Herrad von Landsberg in the *Hortus deliciarum* (in a facsimile MS in the Morgan Library, Strasbourg, 1901, the virtues and vices are shown in the drawings as knights in chain mail, appearing not singly but in rows, each one a branch of the virtue or vice); the *Anticlaudianus* of Alanus de Insulis; and in some of the fifteenth-century morality plays, notably the *Castell of Perseverance* and *Mankind* (EETS, 91, ES). Mâle lists the works inspired by the *Psychomachia*, from Walafrid Strabo to Hugh of St. Victor (*L'Art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France*, p. 100). See also the introduction to Lydgate's *Assembly of Gods* (EETS, 69, ES, lxxiv) for the numerous works in English which have used the *Psychomachia* as a source. For the influence of Prudentius on art see Adolph Katzenellenbogen, *Die Psychomachie in der Kunst des Mittelalters von den Anfangen bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*.

²²² For instance, the works containing *remedia* for temptations and sins: Walter Hilton, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-88; the Parson's Tale; "Remedia super septem peccata principalia" in Johns Hopkins MS 6 (28991), ff. 144v-150v; "Tractatus de tentationibus et consolationibus claustralium" of Jacob Carthusian; the seven sins and their *remedia* in the *Speculum spiritualium*. The *Doctrynnall of Sapience* pairs off the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit with the seven sins. In H.E.H. Libr. MS HM 183, f. 5v, a poem on the seven sins, gives each of the "wondis sevyn" a contrary "lech" (see Brown, *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century*, p. 273). Weigel suggests that the *Ars moriendi* temptations derive from Gerson's *Tractatus de diversis diaboli tentationibus* (*op. cit.*, II, 2. For the Gerson work [*Opera*], III, lxx, L, ff.), basing his suggestion on nothing more stable than Gerson's sentence in the tract: "Bonus angelus malam inimici tentationem in bonum converti facit." Much closer to the *Ars* in every way is Gerson's dialogue, in MS BN franc. 24867, between a dying man and Satan. To temptations against despair and attachment the man answers spiritedly with references to the Bible, though not quotations from it:

Satan: Toi qui es charge d'iniquites, iras-tu en Paradis avec Saint Pierre et Saint Paul?

L'ame: Nenny; mais j'irai avec le bon larron a qui Jesus a dit: Aujourd'hui vous serez avec moi en paradis. . . .

Satan: Tu laisses tous tes biens.

L'ame: Mais encore plus de maux. . . .

Masson, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-59. In a dispute between a good man and the devil (EETS, 98, OS, 329 ff.) the devil tries to sell the man each of the seven sins. In MS Harl. 2398, f. 181, the dying are given the correct arguments with which to answer the taunts of the demons. In the *Castell of Perseverance* good angel and bad angel alternate in giving advice to mankind. This similarity to the scheme of the QS *Ars* is interesting in a work contemporary with the CP. The connection of the *Ars moriendi* with the early morality plays is confined to this probably accidental resemblance to the *Castell* and to the use of the death motif, shared

the earliest woodcuts,²²³ but without text and therefore bearing no important relation to the QS letterpress. The need for the QS as a second version of the *Ars moriendi* grew out of the unsuitability of the CP to the illustrations: not only did it lack material for the inspiration pictures but it also was too full for the limited page space of the block-books; xylographic letters were relatively large, so that even in folio volumes the text could not be discursive.

The QS author probably took the suggestion for his structure from the one passage in the CP text in which the devils speak directly to Moriens. This is in the fourth temptation, where they assure him that his victory over the first three has rendered his salvation secure. "O quam firmus in fide," says the CP demon to the dying man. "Quam fortis in spe et quam constans in patientia. O quam multa bona es operatus. . . ."²²⁴ The QS author applies the method of quotation to all five temptations and also to the inspirations. "Tu miser," says the QS devil, "in magno stas errore. Non est sicut credis vel sicut predicator."²²⁵ And again, "Tu miser vide peccata tua que tanta sunt. . . ." And "Hic tu pateris istum dolorem gravissimum qui est intollerabilis omni creaturae et tibi penitus inutilis nec etiam tuis exigentibus demeritis dolor tantus iure deberet causari." "O homo," asks the angel of hope, "quare desperas licet etiam tot latrocinia furtu et homicidia perpetrasses quot sunt maris gutte et arene?" And the angel of humility, "Miser cur tu superbus ascribendo tibi ipsi constanciam in fide spe et pacientia que tu soli deo ascribenda est . . . ?"

with the Everyman group. Among the later German plays (German moralities were few; see Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, I, 484), two show some similarity to the *Ars*: the *Fünffterlei Betrachtuisse* of Johann Kolross, published at Basel in 1532 (there is a modern edition by Odinga, *Sweizerische Schauspiele des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts*, Zürich, 1890), in which death comes to the hero, and afterward a devil and an angel, who urge him to evil and to good, respectively; and the *Buchel von dem aygen Gericht* (Munich, 1510), which is based on the *Ars moriendi* and will be discussed in Part IV. Creizenach remarks the similarity between these two books and the *Ars moriendi* (*op. cit.*, III, 159, 242).

²²³ The engravings of ES. Pt. III, "Xylographic Editions."

²²⁴ I here quote the Latin text in the edition made by Heinrich Quentell at Cologne in 1495. The *Crafte of Dyeng* says: "O how stable arte thou in þe feipe, how stronge in hope, how sad in pacience! O how many good dedis hast þu þo . . ." (YW, II, 411).

²²⁵ All the QS quotations are from the *editio princeps* in facsimile. Pt. II, "Xylographic Editions."

In following this method the QS author discarded some of the less pungent matter of the CP and added citations from the Scriptures and Church writers calculated to preserve the atmosphere of zealous debate already in the cuts which his text was to accompany.

THE QUESTION OF AUTHORSHIP

Although the authorship of the *Ars moriendi* has been made the subject of much inference and speculation, the identity of the author is still unknown. Like most of the conduct books, it gives no internal evidence whatever as to who put it together. Through evidence largely external I have narrowed the question down to a particular group in a fairly limited area and at a more or less definite time; beyond that I have been unable to go.

Ascriptions to various influential churchmen known to have written on religious subjects are common enough in the manuscripts, incunabula, and such early indices as those of Trithemius²²⁶ and Bale,²²⁷ but these ascriptions are undependable. Obviously false are those to St. Gregory the Great²²⁸ and St. Albertus Magnus,²²⁹ based on nothing more than reputation for writing on sacred subjects. Better grounded is the claim of Matthew of Cracow (1335?–1410), chancellor of the University of Prague and afterward bishop of Worms,²³⁰ for he was famous not only as an ecclesiastical writer but also as *pastor verus et intrepidus ut pontifex stans inter vivos et mortuos* during the pestilence at Heidelberg.²³¹ He is named author, moreover, in one of the earliest editions of the CP,²³² a piece of evidence that

²²⁶ *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, Basel, 1494. There is a copy made at Paris in 1512 in the Morgan Library.

²²⁷ See Bale's *Index of British and Other Writers*, ed. by Poole and Bateson, Oxford, 1902. Bale compiled his index 1548–51.

²²⁸ The reason for attributing the *Ars moriendi* in the editions printed at Augsburg in 1473 and 1476 to St. Gregory may be that it is bound with the *Dialogues*. See Pt. III, "Editions Made in Italy," and "Editions Made in France." St. Gregory is quoted profusely in both CP and QS texts.

²²⁹ *GW*, 592, and *GW*, 592A. See Pt. III, "Editions Made in Germany." St. Albert is twice quoted in TImp of the CP text.

²³⁰ For a complete bibliography of Matthew see *CE*, X, 65, and Chevalier, *Reptoire des sources historiques du moyen âge*, II, 3140.

²³¹ Falk, *Die deutschen Sterbebüchlein*, p. 56.

²³² *GW*, 2597 (Cologne, 1474). An Antwerp ed. of 1500 is also ascribed to Matthew, *GW*, 2632.

would carry great weight did not a manuscript of 1437 (only twenty-seven years after his death) by failing to mention him render the ascription of authorship to him highly doubtful.²³³

Because of the unparalleled popularity of Richard Rolle's writings, almost every religious work in Middle English and many in Latin were sooner or later attributed to him. He was first credited with the authorship of the *Ars moriendi* in Bale's index two hundred years after his death. But Hope Emily Allen, most recent and most competent investigator of his life and writings, has found in the *Ars* not a single trace of him.²³⁴

On something sturdier than a reputation for religious writings or than the eagerness of a Florentine printer to claim the book for a Florentine is the connection of the *Ars moriendi* with Dominicus Capranica (1400-1458), soldier for the Pope under Sforza and Cardinal Archbishop of Fermo,²³⁵ to whom are attributed seven of fourteen Italian editions.²³⁶ Such persistent clinging of his name to the work indicates a relationship, but probably that of translator rather than originator, since he is mentioned in no Latin edition made in Italy. Dr. Franz finds even stronger disproof of Capranica's claim in the several manuscripts known to antedate the first edition attributed to him.²³⁷

Among other names attached to the *Ars moriendi* are those of two famous Carthusians who made versions of the work, Jacobus of

²³³ This conclusion was reached by Guichard in 1840 (*op. cit.*). Since then earlier MSS have been discovered in which apparently he is not named as author. See MSS Frankfurt a.M. Cod. 98, Karlsruhe 90, Munich 4144. According to the catalogues there are even earlier MSS, but the dating may be unreliable.

²³⁴ *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle*, p. 424. Miss Comper suggests that Rolle may have made the English translation, but he is too early to have had anything to do with the work (*The Book of the Craft of Dying*, p. 48).

²³⁵ For a short account of Cardinal Capranica see *CE*, III, 312. Also *Biographie universelle*, VI, 631-32. For bibliography see Chevalier, *op. cit.*, I, 777-78.

²³⁶ Six Florentine and one Venetian edition are attributed to him. Although Weigel does not consider him the author of the CP (*op. cit.*, II, 240), Falk does (*Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, VII [1890], 312), and even Schreiber carries on the false attribution (*Manuel*, IV, 254, 265). Some MSS name Cardinal Capranica as the author, for example, MS Fano 22 (Biblioteca Comunale), MSS Florence II. II. 46 and II. IX. 134 (Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale), and MS Florence 1461, Pt. IV, 32 (Biblioteca Riccardiana). All these, however, are after 1452, the date of the first edition attributed to him.

²³⁷ *Der Katholik*, XXI (1900), 137.

Juterbögt (1385?–1465?)²³⁸ and his more famous Flemish contemporary Denis (d. 1471),²³⁹ the Dominican Johann Nider, whose *Dispositorium moriendi* was no doubt related to the *Ars*,²⁴⁰ Nikolaus Dinkelsbühl (1360–1433), rector at Vienna and confessor to Duke Albert of Austria,²⁴¹ who is named as author in five manuscripts at Munich,²⁴² one at St. Florian,²⁴³ and one at the University of Notre Dame,²⁴⁴ Dietrich Engelhusen, priest and canon at Hildesheim (d. 1434),²⁴⁵ who may have translated the *Ars moriendi* into Low German; and a churchman so obviously out of the question as Pope Innocent III.²⁴⁶

The first of my own conclusions regarding authorship is that after Gerson had brought his *De arte moriendi* to the Council of Constance (1414–18), the CP text, inspired by it, was written in the Constance locality.

All writers on the subject agree that Gerson's tract was composed before the council. Falk says around 1408;²⁴⁷ Mâle, hardly after 1409;²⁴⁸ Masson includes it among the religious works written immediately after Gerson's return from Bruges in 1405.²⁴⁹ I find that its composition preceded a letter written by Gerson between 1408 and 1410 to Jean Major, tutor to the dauphin Louis, son of Charles VI, exhorting him to acquire good books and listing those regarded

²³⁸ Also known as Jacobus de Paradiso or Polonia or Clusa. *CE*, VIII, 261. For bibliography see Chevalier, *op. cit.*, II, 2318–19.

²³⁹ *CE*, IV, 734. For bibliography see Chevalier, *op. cit.*, I, 1173–74.

²⁴⁰ Pt. IV, "Contemporary Books in Latin."

²⁴¹ See *CE*, XI, 77, and Chevalier, *op. cit.*, II, 3331. The *Ars moriendi* may be attributed to him because he wrote a work on the temptations of the devil. His writings are often found in MSS with the *Ars*, e.g., Vienna MSS 4180, 4221, 4419, 4507, and 4688.

²⁴² MSS 18276, 18365, 18639. ²⁴³ MS XI. 163.

²⁴⁴ Pt. II, "The Manuscripts."

²⁴⁵ *ADB*, VI, 141. The MSS in which he is named are for the most part in the Wolfenbüttel Library. See Borchling, *Mittelniederdeutsche Handschriften in Wolfenbüttel*, etc., pp. 22, 56, 101; *Mittelniederdeutsche Handschriften in den Rheinlanden*, p. 30.

²⁴⁶ Munich MSS 11587, 11741, 11748. Pope Innocent is quoted in the CP text.

²⁴⁷ *Centralblatt*, p. 309. But Falk gives no reason for the dating.

²⁴⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 381n. Mâle concludes that Gerson's preoccupation with the councils of Pisa and Constance would prove that he had no time for writing after 1409. The chancellor did not, however, attend the Council of Pisa. Weigel says that the QS text was made before the Council of Constance, the CP during it; but he offers no proof of any kind (*op. cit.*, II, 5). ²⁴⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 140.

by the author as indispensable.²⁵⁰ Among these is his *Opusculum*,²⁵¹ not called by name, but unmistakable because of the enumeration of its three parts.²⁵²

The chief evidence that the *Opusculum* was known to the Council of Constance is to be found in the *Avisata*, or plan for reform, of the University of Paris made for the French national and Roman councils of 1411 and later called, in a slightly different version, the *Capita agendorum*²⁵³ in *Concilio Generali Constantiensi de Reformatione Ecclesiae*. In this work, attributed to Cardinal Zabarella of Florence,²⁵⁴ but more accurately to Pierre d'Ailly,²⁵⁵ there is mentioned a certain

tractatulus compositus per Cancellarium Parisiensem, tractans de generalibus principiis nostrae fidei, per facultatem Theologiae prius tamen examinandus, & si fuerit corrigendus, addendo & diminuendo . . . Ut singulis metropolitanis et Episcopis consequenter, servandorum in fide series verbis & scriptis fidelius publicetur. Et hoc expedit, imò necessarium est. Nam in multis locis & diocesis quasi sine numero plurimi reperiuntur, qui vix de Deo aliquid intelligunt, aut de articulis necessariis ad salutem.²⁵⁶

That Hardt is wrong in supposing this "tractatulus" the *Compendium theologie*, sometimes attributed to Gerson,²⁵⁷ I see in the strong probability that Gerson did not write the *Compendium theologie*,²⁵⁸ but that if he did, he wrote it after Constance,²⁵⁹ else he would have recommended it in his letter to Jean Major as a more comprehensive

²⁵⁰ Before the list he says: "Subscribuntur igitur velut in cedula, libri quos necessario fac habeas." The *Somme* of Friar Laurent is mentioned. See Thomas, *Jean de Gerson et l'éducation des dauphins de France*, pp. 48-51. ²⁵¹ *Ibid.*

²⁵² "Item collectorium quorundam opusculum in gallico nuper editorum: de preceptis Dei; de examine conscientie; de sciencia bene moriendi. . . ."

²⁵³ Heinrich Finke gives the text of the *Avisata* (*Acta Concilii Constantiensis*, I, 133). For the latest findings on the relationship of *Avisata* and *Capita agendorum* see Karl Kehrmann, *Die Capita agendorum*. For the text of the *Capita* see Hermann von der Hardt, *Rerum magni Concilii Constantiensis*, I, 506 ff.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.* ²⁵⁵ Finke, *op. cit.*, I, 133.

²⁵⁶ Hardt, *op. cit.*, I, 506. ²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁸ Geffcken (*op. cit.*, I, 30) supposed that Geiler von Kaysersberg, translator and editor of the *Opusculum* (1445-1510), doubted that the work was Gerson's. For the *Compendium theologie* see the Strasbourg ed. of Gerson's works, II, xxv.

²⁵⁹ Masson, *op. cit.*, pp. 319-20. Masson regards the *Compendium* as a sort of enlargement of the *Opusculum*.

work than the *Opusculum*.²⁶⁰ The word "tractatulus," furthermore, is hardly accurate for a work of seventy-one folios.²⁶¹

It is much more probable that the "tractatulus" is the *Opusculum*. This it was, not the *Compendium*, which was circulated by the bishops of western Europe throughout their dioceses after the Council of Constance was over; and there is nothing in the description of the work used at the council which is not applicable to the *Opusculum*. According to the *Capita agendorum* it was to supply for the ignorance of the many who knew scarcely anything of God or the things necessary for salvation. The *Opusculum* confines itself to these two subjects, whereas the *Compendium* includes all the matter of the *Somme* books, but nothing so closely connected with the matter of salvation as a chapter on good dying. Gerson's remarks to the Council of Reims (1412), moreover, at which, according to the *Avisata*, the "tractatulus" was also used, suggest that he then had the *Opusculum* in mind, for he said: "Fiat postremo quoad hoc publicatio quorundam tractatulorum compositorum vel componendorum vel qui iam forte compilati sunt, in quibus generalis tenor nostre fidei et preceptorum et sacramentorum cum similibus contineantur."²⁶² As a final point the *Avisata* says of the "tractatulus" "tam in Latino quam in Gallico composita";²⁶³ whereas I have never heard of the *Compendium* in the vernacular, the *Opusculum* was as well known in French as in Latin.

The testimony of later centuries seems to indicate that, if not the whole *Opusculum*, at least the *De arte moriendi* was known at Constance. *A Manuall for True Catholickes* by the father of Richard Crashaw²⁶⁴ connects the Anselm Questions as used by Gerson (certainly in his work on dying, since he used them nowhere else) with the "most evill time, about the Councell of Constance."²⁶⁵ And in the eighteenth-century catalogue of the manuscripts at Leipzig made by Joachim Feller²⁶⁶ to the description of MS 57 (Repositorii Theologici

²⁶⁰ In the letter to Jean Major, Gerson could not have referred to the *Compendium*, since he made mention of a "scientia bene moriendi," a subject not treated in the *Compendium*.

²⁶¹ Geffcken, *op. cit.*, I, 30.

²⁶² Finke, *op. cit.*, I, 133n. In a translation printed by Jacob Jacobszoen van der Meer at Delft in 1482 the *Opusculum* was called "Salicheit den Menschen."

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

²⁶⁴ Pt. IV, "Post-Reformation Books in English."

²⁶⁵ Edition of London, 1616, p. 54.

²⁶⁶ *Catalogus codicum mssctorum Bibliothecae Paulinae in Academia Lipsiensi*, Leipzig, 1686, p. 9.

I Series IV in 4) is added *Tr. Joh. Gersonis de arte moriendi, quem ipse in Concilio Constanensi publicavit.*

Even without being publicized by the council a work by anyone having as immense prestige as had Gerson, "soul" of the gathering,²⁶⁷ would at that time of intellectual awakening²⁶⁸ have been seized upon and spread far and wide. The *Ars moriendi* which developed from his tract on dying might then have had its origin in any part of the West. Yet there is every indication that it was composed in southern Germany — Bavaria, or more probably, Swabia. For one thing, the extant manuscripts are thickest in that area: in Munich alone there are eighty-one, gathered from neighboring monastic libraries; in Switzerland,²⁶⁹ sixteen. Also, almost everyone but Gerson connected with the development of the work, as well as almost everyone to whom it has been attributed, was at one time or another a resident of that region: Blessed Henry Suso lived at Überlingen, wandered through Swabia as a preacher, and died at Ulm; Dirk van Delft was chaplain of Duke Albrecht of Bavaria; Matthew of Cracow was bishop of Worms; Nikolaus Dinkelsbühl represented Duke Albert of Austria at Constance; Cardinal Capranica wrote of the convocation of the council,²⁷⁰ Johann Nider was born in Swabia, was active at Constance and present at Basel, and was prior of the Dominican priory at Basel; Jacob Carthusian attended the Council of Basel; Geiler von Kaysersberg studied at Freiburg and at Basel and also preached there; Wilhelm Weber, whom Falk connects with the German death books, preached at Basel,²⁷¹ ES, the engraver whose pictures were copied for the xylographic *editio princeps*, is believed to have been a native of Freiburg i.B. or of Strasbourg. Besides, the illustrated manuscript in the Well-

²⁶⁷ For Gerson's extraordinary prestige among the delegates at Constance see Schmidt, *Essai sur Jean Gerson*, pp. 42 ff. He at once represented the French king and the ecclesiastical province of Sens (see Hefele, *Histoire des conciles*, VII, 188). The deputation of 200 doctors of the University of Paris, which he headed, was very impressive. Masson says that the *Opuscule* was commended "par un grande nombre de Conciles" (*op. cit.*, p. 144).

²⁶⁸ For the work of the councils of Constance and Basel in disseminating knowledge through manuscripts procured by fair means or foul from the German monastic libraries see Löffler, *Deutsche Klosterbibliotheken*, p. 47, and Thompson, *The Medieval Library*, pp. 454-58.

²⁶⁹ It ought also to be remarked, perhaps, that there are many more MSS in German than in any other vernacular (*Infra*, the section on MSS.)

²⁷⁰ Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum*, XXVII, 532-34.

²⁷¹ *Die deutschen Sterbebüchlein*, p. 35.

come Museum is probably Swabian; nearly all the block books were made at Augsburg; Adam Walasser, who made the last edition, was born at Ulm; and three-quarters of the German typographic editions were printed in southern Germany—the first at Strasbourg and Augsburg, others at Cologne, Memmingen, Nuremberg, and Landshut, Dilingen, and Sulzburg. The *Hortulus anime*, which frequently contained the *Ars moriendi*, was printed chiefly at Strasbourg, and other books similarly related to it, such as *Speygel der Leyen* and the *Himmelstrasse*,²⁷² came from presses in the same region.²⁷³

I would go even further in my conclusions and hazard a guess that the *Ars moriendi* was composed not only in the Constance area but also at the council itself. In the Vienna Nationalbibliothek there is a manuscript dated 1418²⁷⁴ containing the CP version. It is not unlikely that during those four years of emphasis on more devout Christian living some zealous delegate had set out to enlarge the *De arte moriendi* of Gerson, which the council had recommended so highly as a valuable aid to reform.

If this conclusion is correct, it follows readily that the *Ars* was brought into Italy, France, the Netherlands, England, and Spain, and eastward to Prague and Vienna by the returning delegates, Constance serving as a sort of centrifugal for the rest of western Europe.²⁷⁵ Mr. Küp remarks that during the council a number of professional scribes were kept busy;²⁷⁶ it may easily have been the *Ars moriendi* which helped to keep their pens at work on semi-round Gothic characters, to fill the orders of “prelates and bibliophiles”²⁷⁷

²⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 65–66.

²⁷³ Dirk van Delft, Engelhusen, and Martin Luther, who wrote a work related to the *Ars moriendi*, all attended the University of Erfurt, not too far from the southern provinces for the influence to reach it. Staupitz, author of another related book, was Augustinian prior at Munich and lived for a time at Nuremberg.

²⁷⁴ MS 4014 (Lunael Q. 197). Vienna MS 3731 (Lunael. f. 185) is dated 1400, and Wolfenbüttel MS Helmst. 422, 1409, but both dates are too early.

²⁷⁵ After Constance, Gerson went into self-exile at the Benedictine Abbey of Melk. He may have brought the 1418 MS to Vienna. Dr. Franz thinks that it was the Council of Basel which spread the *Ars moriendi*, but he knew of no MS earlier than 1431 (*Der Katholik*, XXI (1900), 137). Of course, the Council of Basel, like that of Constance, was a strong impetus for the dissemination of culture throughout Europe.

²⁷⁶ Karl Küp, “Ulrich von Richental’s Chronicle of the Council of Constance,” reprinted from *BNYPL*, 1936, p. 11.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

who had found the little conduct book on the art of dying worth owning.²⁷⁸

Regarding the actual identity of the author I have concluded only that he was a member of the Order of Preachers.²⁷⁹ Ludwig Kaemerer has suggested, but without saying why, that it was the Brothers of the Common Life who gave the work wide circulation;²⁸⁰ and indeed a fairly good case might be made out to connect them with it.²⁸¹ An even better one might be put together for the Carthusians.²⁸² The bulk of the evidence, however, points to the Dominicans. They, as well as the Dutch Brethren and St. Bruno's monks, were scholars and writers; no order which had produced Sts. Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas, Vincent of Beauvais, Jacobus de Voragine, Blessed Henry Suso, and Johann Tauler need prove its claim to culture.²⁸³

²⁷⁸ Probably of no significance, but interesting, is the fact that a bull of Pope John XXIII quoted in Ulrich von Richental's chronicle begins like the QS: "Et quamvis mors censeatur terribilium omnium ultimum . . .," f. C in the Aulendorf Codex in the New York Library.

²⁷⁹ Weigel suggests that the CP author was a Dominican because of the strong emphasis of the text upon Catholicism (*op. cit.*, II, 5).

²⁸⁰ "Ars moriendi rediviva, eine Antikritik," *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, III (1899), 266.

²⁸¹ The Brothers were especially zealous in the visitation of the sick (Wheatley, *The Story of the "Imitatio Christi,"* p. 54); Florence Radewyns, successor of the founder, Gerhard Groote, who himself died of the plague (Kettlewell, *Thomas à Kempis and the Brothers of Common Life*, II, 5, 107), is known to have kept a list of all the sick in Windesheim and to have frequently visited them (Hyma, *The Youth of Erasmus*, p. 23). Another duty of every Brother was the compiling of a *rapiarium*, or book of extracts from the Scriptures, the saints, and even from his own reflections (Kettlewell, *op. cit.*, I, 167). Furthermore, Dirk van Delft was a Netherlander, and Denis Carthusian a Fleming who had studied with the Brothers at Zwolle; Dietrich Engelhusen visited Windesheim. And lastly, at the Council of Constance, Gerson is known to have defended a Brother of the Common Life against an arrogant Dominican named Matthew Grabow (Hardt, *op. cit.*, III, 107-21, and Huizinga, *op. cit.*, p. 175). See also Bonet-Maury, *De opera scholastica Fratrum Vitae Communis in Nederlandia*.

²⁸² St. Bruno, one of the most learned men of his time, encouraged his monks to transcribe, but more to compose works themselves (Lefebvre, *Saint Bruno et l'ordre de Chartreux*, I, 462). Lefebvre lists at least 800 Carthusian writers. Two famous Carthusians, Jacobus and Denis, wrote works related to the *Ars moriendi*, and a prayer for a dying man attributed to a "certain Carthusian" is to be found in several MSS also containing the *Ars moriendi*, e.g., Danzig Mar. Q. 27, Heidelberg pal. germ. 617, Bamberg 42, Karlsruhe 90. There were in the Middle Ages Carthusian monasteries at or near places where MSS of the *Ars moriendi* are extant today (e.g., Buxheim, Treves, Troyes, Turin, Venice, Dijon, Valence). Also Gerson wrote several times of Carthusians, once to defend the order (see Strasbourg ed., II, xxxix).

²⁸³ A fourteenth-century *Tabula scriptorum* from the convent of Saint-Jacques in Paris shows something of the early literary work of the Preachers (see Mandonnet, *Saint Dominique, l'idée, l'homme et l'œuvre*, I, 200).

In the late Middle Ages the Preachers and the Minorites held something of the reputation for intellectual leadership which had belonged in the earlier centuries to the Benedictines.²⁸⁴ The encyclical letters of the Dominican Masters General frequently enjoined the friars to devote time and attention to study in preparation for their work as preachers.²⁸⁵ According to Wilhelm Schreiber, the Dominicans, like the Franciscans, preached regularly on feast days of the last moments of a Christian upon earth;²⁸⁶ no doubt the preparation for such a subject would lead the preachers to all the available death literature current at the time.

Evidence of Dominican authorship is chiefly external, but in the text itself there are two indications of Dominican associations and interests. First, in the use of quotation not Scriptural or patristic the author shows some preference for the works of the Preachers or friends of the Preachers: St. Albertus Magnus is cited twice;²⁸⁷ the *Compendium theologicae veritatis*, once;²⁸⁸ from Blessed Henry Suso there is both direct quotation and more indirect borrowing;²⁸⁹ Aristotle,²⁹⁰ beloved of every Dominican through St. Thomas, and Pope Innocent III, under whom the order arose,²⁹¹ are both quoted; and lastly, Vincent of Beauvais,²⁹² Friar Laurent,²⁹³ John of Tambach, and John de Bromyard²⁹⁴ may be the sources of some of the lesser passages.²⁹⁵

²⁸⁴ Heinrich Schreiber, "Die Kartäuser als Bücherfreunde" (*Sankt Wiborada*, 1933, pp. 16-21).

²⁸⁵ *Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Predicorum*, Vol. V, Nos. 2, 36, 47, and especially 52 and 61. Also *Acta capitulorum generalium*, III, 263.

²⁸⁶ *Op. cit.*, IV, 253. ²⁸⁷ In *TImp*, *YW*, II, 411.

²⁸⁸ Generally ascribed to St. Albertus Magnus, but really the work of his pupil Hugo Ripelin of Strasbourg. In Miss Comper's modernization the title of the book is given with the passage that follows instead of with what precedes. For the quotation in its source see the edition of St. Albert's works by Borgnet, XXXIV, 162 ("Non enim verbis adverbii meremur"). ²⁸⁹ *Pt. I*, "Literary Forerunners."

²⁹⁰ *Pt. I*, "The Question of Priority." The quotation which Weigel regarded as pagan would probably not be considered such by a Dominican. The Preachers made commentaries on Aristotle and collected his propositions until the late fifteenth century. E.g., Paulus Barbus (*ca.* 1494), Benedictus Songinas (*ca.* 1495), and Ludovicus de Ferraria (*ca.* 1496). See Quétif-Ehard, *op. cit.*, Vol. I.

²⁹¹ It was approved, however, by Innocent's successor, Honorius III, in 1216, the first year of his pontificate. ²⁹² *Pt. I*, "Sources."

²⁹³ The idea that to die well is to die willingly. Both Friar Laurent and the author of the *Ars* may, of course, have taken the passage from Seneca. ²⁹⁴ *Pt. I*, "Sources."

²⁹⁵ In the *Vitae Fratrum Ordinis Predicorum* of Gerard de Fracheto, O.P., there are two deathbed scenes which might have furnished material to the *Ars moriendi*. One dying friar,

It is an interesting fact that in quoting from the *Compendium theologicae veritatis* and from the *Horologium* the author does not mention Hugo Ripelin and Blessed Henry. To me the omission indicates that these books of his fellow-Dominicans were so well known to him and to his readers that he never thought of saying who wrote them.

The second piece of internal evidence lies in the emphasis upon orthodoxy, apparent not only in the first temptation but also in the additions to Gerson's interrogation on faith: "Dilecte aut dilecta," he says, "vis tu mori et vivere in soliditate fidei christiana respectu dei et domini nostri Iesu Christi tamque verus fidelis et obediens sancte matris ecclesie filius?" — covering the point, one would suppose, adequately. But the author of the *Ars*, son of the earnest champion of orthodoxy, St. Dominic, writing, as I have concluded, with the errors of Wyclif and Huss fresh in his ear, has amplified the question: "Credis omnes principales articulos fidei. Et insuper toti sacre scripture per omnia secundum sanctorum catholicorum atque orthodoxorum sacre ecclesie doctorum expositionem et detestaris omnes hereses atque errores et superstitiones ab ecclesia reprobatas ac letaris insuper quod in fide Christi ac unitate matris ecclesie ac obedientia moriariis?"²⁹⁶

The external evidence is, first of all, a matter of Dominican names associated with the *Ars moriendi*: (1) of those whose writings were forerunners — Friar Laurent, Blessed Henry Suso, and Dirk van Delft;²⁹⁷ (2) of those to whom the work was falsely attributed — St.

Frater Chunradus, once prior of Constance, told his brothers that he would die "fideliter, amicabiliter" (i.e., with hope), "fiducialiter, letentur," suggesting the temptations or possibly the interrogations (p. 255). The other, an English Dominican, saw as he was dying black devils and "white brothers," i.e., deceased Preachers, who had come from heaven to his aid (p. 267).

²⁹⁶ So that the contrast with the original might be more apparent, I have quoted, not from the *Crafts of Dyeng*, but from the Latin version published by Heinrich Quentell at Cologne [1493] (GW, 2608). This is all I find in the text of the *Ars* to indicate that the author was aware of the controversy beginning to arise.

²⁹⁷ Mandonnet says that the Dominicans composed many handbooks, or "sommes," on penitence for the use of confessors (*op. cit.*, I, 201-2). Possibly St. Thomas, Vincent of Beauvais, and St. Raymond Pennafort established the tradition. Fifteenth-century followers of it were Hermann Zitgard (d. 1408), St. Antoninus, Johann Nider, and Heinrich Kalt-Eysen (d. 1465) (Quétif-Echard, *op. cit.*, Vol. I). The Dominican authorship of these confessors' manuals may constitute another link of the *Ars* with the Preachers, since one group of editions (the Spanish and the Catalan) are all accompanied by a *confessionale* (GW, 2591-93, 2633). The books of Friar Laurent, Suso, and Dirk van Delft are not of the group to which Mandonnet refers, since they were written chiefly for laymen. Equally popular with guides for confessors in the favor of the Preachers were works on the virtues-and-vices motif, which is so significant a part of the *Ars moriendi* (Quétif-Echard, *op. cit.*, Vol. I).

Albert,²⁹⁸ Innocent III, a Yorkshireman named Thomas Stubbs,²⁹⁹ and Johann Nider; (3) and of those who wrote related works — Nider and Savonarola.

If my conclusion that the *Ars moriendi* originated in the Constance area is correct, the numerous Dominican houses in that locale in the fifteenth century might help to indicate Dominican authorship. Further, the priory at Constance was known as a center of culture,³⁰⁰ perhaps it was from there that manuscripts spread to more remote priories in towns where manuscripts of the *Ars moriendi* are now extant — Florence, Bologna, Krems, Vienna, Berlin, Utrecht, Brussels, Treves, Heidelberg, Bamberg, Stuttgart, Cambrai, Dijon, Strasbourg, Metz, and Göttingen.³⁰¹ This probable circulation of the *Ars* throughout the order may account for some of the manuscripts in England, where there were fifty-three houses in pre-Reformation days,³⁰² together with a half dozen in Scotland.³⁰³

Other evidence in the manuscripts is: (1) the tendency of the *Ars moriendi* to appear in the company of the works of Dominicans, especially those of St. Albert,³⁰⁴ St. Thomas,³⁰⁵ Friar Laurent and Suso,³⁰⁶ Hugo Ripelin,³⁰⁷ Vincent of Beauvais,³⁰⁸ Tauler,³⁰⁹ and Turcremata,³¹⁰ (2) the fact that some of the manuscripts are signed by Dominican scribes,³¹¹ (3) the explicit of the *Ars* in a manuscript at

²⁹⁸ Quétif-Echard says that there is an *ars bene moriendi* of Albertus Magnus in Colbert cod. MS. 6104 (*op. cit.*, I, 181).

²⁹⁹ Stubbs is mentioned in Bale's Index as the author of a *De arte moriendi* (Appendix IV, p. 504, in the Collectanea of a Dominican Philip Wolphius, who lived in south Germany in the fifteenth century). Stubbs is placed *ca. 1384* (see *DNB*, LV, 121, and Jarrett, *The English Dominicans*, p. 95).³⁰⁰ See Muschg, *Die Mystik in der Schweiz*, p. 127.

³⁰¹ See Pt. II, "The Manuscripts."

³⁰² Jarrett, *op. cit.*, pp. 231-32. Perhaps the *Ars* was translated into English by Richard Wicherley (d. 1481) (Quétif-Echard, *op. cit.*, I, 86c).

³⁰³ In Ayr, Edinburgh, Elgin, Perth, Berwick, Aberdeen, Stirling, Inverness. Perhaps in one of these houses the Scotch MS in Cambr. Kk. I. V. may have been written. Could the translator have been George Hepburn ("vir summae litteraturae" who wrote *De reformatio ad Fratres?* See Quétif-Echard, *op. cit.*, I, 900-901).

³⁰⁴ MS Munich 3589. ³⁰⁵ MSS Munich 3589, Dijon 1276, Lyon 651.

³⁰⁶ Chiefly in the English MSS, e.g., Harl. 1706, Cambr. Ff. V. 45, Douce 322. The Suso text is his death chapter, and that of Friar Laurent, the *Toure of All Toures*, which I have found to be a translation of his chapter on dying. Pt. I, "Literary Forerunners."

³⁰⁷ MS Prague 2579 and Zürich Car. C 141.

³⁰⁸ MS Lyon 651. ³⁰⁹ MS Donaueschingen 293.

³¹⁰ MSS Munich 3589 and Lyon 651. In MS Munich 3661 the *Ars* is with a "Statuta nonnulla ordinis predicatorum."

³¹¹ For example, MS Magd. Coll. Cambr. F. 4113, and several at Basel, where, by the way, Johann Nider once was prior.

Lille: "Explicit libellus de scientia moriendi complicatus [sic] a quodam fratrī ordinis predicatorum."³¹²

Pointing to the same conclusion are the woodcut frontispiece of the Sessa edition made at Venice in 1503,³¹³ in which a Dominican holding a rosary is pictured offering a crown to Our Lady, and the Venetian *Processionarium* of the Preachers (1545), where much of the *Ars moriendi* appears, even to the *exemplum* of the Pope and the three Paternosters.³¹⁴

It is the accumulation of evidence that points to Dominican authorship rather than the great significance of any part of it. To be more specific, to name a particular Preacher as the probable author is difficult. In the text there is no indication of his identity, except that he was once sick and then found that devotion fled far from him.³¹⁵ Quétif-Echard's list of Dominican writers of the fifteenth century is long and virtually homogeneous; almost all the Fathers in it wrote on the same kind of material — devotional, philosophical, or theological. Among them, however, is a group which here commands our special attention — Dominicans who attended the Council of Constance,³¹⁶ doubly significant because they were associated there with Gerson, from a late edition of whose works Quétif-Echard took their names.³¹⁷ Only a few of them were Germans, but this fact does not confuse or even weaken my hypothesis about the locale of the *Ars moriendi*, since I suppose only that it was written in the south of Germany, not necessarily by a German.³¹⁸

Of the twenty-one Preachers on the list,³¹⁹ several may be dismissed at once.³²⁰ Among the others those who are less renowned appear to

³¹² MS Lille 126. ³¹³ Pt. III, "Editions Printed in Italy."

³¹⁴ There is a copy in the Morgan Library.

³¹⁵ See Miss Comper's modernization, *The Book of the Craft of Dying*, p. 38. But this point I find only in the English version edited by her from MS Douce 322. It apparently is not in MS Rawl. C. 894. ³¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, I, 757.

³¹⁷ Antwerp, 1706, Vol. V, cols. 1010-11. They are the names of those who joined Gerson in his condemnation of the errors of Jean Petit regarding the moral guilt of tyrannicides, and are taken from Cod. Colbert. 2537, f. 180. The heading is "Nomina Magistrorum et Bachalariorum Formatorum in theologie existentium in Concilio Generali Constantiensi," but other Preachers who attended the council, such as Matthew Grabow, are omitted; hence the list is not intended to be complete.

³¹⁸ The Latin text indicates nothing concerning the nationality of the author.

³¹⁹ The Dominicans here outnumber all the other orders: there were sixteen Minorites and only four Augustinians and five Cistercians.

³²⁰ Such as Federicus Frezzius, bishop of Foligno, who apparently wrote exclusively in Italian; Blessed Joannes Dominici, cardinal of Ragusa, whose works are listed by St. An-

be the strongest possibilities, since the work of Church dignitaries would hardly reach us shrouded in anonymity.

It is not even improbable that the author of the *Ars* is one of those on the Gerson list not discussed as a "scriptor" by Quétif-Echard — "Petrus de Moravia," "Herinandus de Saxonia," "Henricus de Rimaldia," "Henricus de Basilia," or "Paulus Bachalarius Sacri Palatii"; for if one known in the order as a writer had put the work together, probably he would have received credit for it. Or he may have been among the Preachers present at Constance who did not speak out against Jean Petit — Theodorus Polonus; Bartholomeus Texerius, of whom Johann Nider speaks in the *Formicarius*,³²¹ Tomas Tomassinus, who was known for only two works,³²² Sanctius Mulierii, who wrote on the four books of sentences,³²³ or Franciscus de Retzo, whose knowledge of the way to die Nider describes.³²⁴ Perhaps some member of St. Dominic's great order to whom manuscript evidence is accessible may one day find in my welter of suggestions a clue leading to the identification of the author of the *Ars* with one of his fifteenth-century brethren.³²⁵

toninus and hence are probably complete; Jacobus Arigonius, bishop of Lodi, whose style when he preached of death at the funeral of a noted cardinal at Constance in 1416 bears little resemblance to that of the *Ars moriendi* (Hardt, *op. cit.*, V [V], 115-37).

³²¹ I, 8. See the copy, printed by Anton Sorg at Augsburg, ca. 1484, in the Columbia Library.

³²² Not extant in print or in MS. This fact might indicate Tomas's relative obscurity. See Quétif-Echard, I, 806. Tomas was Italian.

³²³ *Ibid.*, p. 758. Sanctius and Bartholomeus were French.

³²⁴ IV, 7. The passage is quoted in Quétif-Echard, I, 775. He wrote of virtues and vices.

³²⁵ For other fifteenth-century Dominican writers see Hurter, *Nomenclator litterarius*, Vols. II and III, and Daley, *Dominican Incunabula in the Library of Congress*, reprinted from *Historical Records and Studies*, XXII (Oct., 1932). If the *Ars moriendi* was not written by a delegate to Constance, then the list of possible Dominican authors might include Heinrich Kalt-Eysen, who wrote many *tractati*, including one on temptations, and a *Speculum mundi rhythmicum de morte* (see Quétif-Echard, I, 828, and the *Formicarius*, III, 1); Bartholomeus Mutiensis, who wrote a *Tractatus moralis predicandus in civitate pestilentia* (Quétif-Echard, I, 806); Jean Herolt, famous for his *contes dévotes* and author of a compendium (*ibid.*, I, 762); even St. Vincent Ferrer, who, although he was traveling around England and France during the council, is known to have exchanged letters with Gerson (Gorce, *Saint Vincent Ferrier*, p. 186), at the time of the council. He spent much time visiting the sick and gave much thought to the ebb of the spiritual life among Christians. One of his works, furthermore, bears a title suggestive of the *Ars moriendi*—*Tractatus valde utilis et consolatorius in temptationibus circa fidem*. It is highly improbable, nevertheless, that if the great St. Vincent Ferrer had written the work, the fact would still be unknown to us.

PART II

MANUSCRIPTS

A list of the manuscripts of any medieval work is necessarily tentative. Had one access to every catalogue ever printed, there would still be the strong probability that material is hidden away in private libraries.

I have grouped the manuscripts according to the country (as the countries were in January, 1940), then the city or the town, then the library in which each manuscript is to be found,¹ and finally according to the language in which it is written. Latin will always have precedence over the vernaculars.² Since manuscripts of the QS are comparatively rare, the text is always the CP version unless otherwise stated.

GERMAN REICH

Bamberg — *Staatliche Bibliothek*³

LATIN

No. 148 *B. VI.* Pap. 14.9 x 10.6 cm. 219 ff. 15th century
Ff. 156-80 *Incip:* Cum de presentis . . . *Explic.:* . . . mori discat.

No. 3 *Q II 27* Pap. 29.3 x 21 cm. 173 ff. 15th century
Ff. 84-88 *Incip.:* Cum de presentis . . . Breaks off f. 88.

No. 25 *Q II 8* Pap. 31.3 x 22 cm. 349 ff. 15th century
Ff. 234-45 *De arte moriendi* *Incip.:* Cum de presentis . . . *Explic.:* . . . mori discat.

¹ This is the most practical arrangement, since the catalogues are generally lists of the MSS in a particular library. The entries in the section of my bibliography given to catalogues of manuscripts and early printed books are made according to the city and library, or to the private collection, in which the works were to be found when the catalogue was published. In the few cases where this method was impossible I entered the catalogue under the name of the editor. I follow the geographical method again in Part III, where I list the typographic editions.

² Where a library has MSS in more than one vernacular, the order will be German, French, English.

³ *Katalog der Handschriften des Königlichen Bibliothek zu Bamberg.*

No. 115 *Q VI. 34* Parch. 26.7 x 19 cm. 117 ff. 15th century
Ff. 105-17 *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . .

No. 225 *Q VI. 25*. Pap. 16 x 10.5 cm. 209 ff. 16th century (150319)
Ff. 146-61 *Incip.*: Cum de presentis exilii . . . *Explic.*: . . . mori
discat.

No. 242 *Q VI. 24*. Pap. 16 x 10.5 cm. 2+374 ff. 15th century
Ff. 13-40 *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . . *Explic.*: . . . ut securus moria-
tur. Ends with prayers.

No. 16⁴ *N. I. 12* Pap. 21 x 14 cm. 178 ff. 15th century
Ff. 84-107 *De arte moriendi*. *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . . *Explic.*:
. . . mori discat ut . . . ad perhennia gaudia perget ad quam [*sic!*] nos
perducat omnipotens deus, etc. Et sic finis. *Explic.*: Tractatus de arte
moriendi. anno domini Quadrigentesimo Quinquagesimo quarto XVI . . .

GERMAN

No. 175 *Ed. VII. 56⁵* Pap. 15.6 x 10.9 cm. 97 ff. 15th century
Ff. 72-92 *Incip.*: Wan der gang des todes aufs dises gegenwertigen
elendes armiglikeit . . . *Explic.*: [after prayers] . . . daz er lerne sterben
ee daz in der todt begriff. Amen. Et sic sit finis. Johannes Greff de
nova civitate scriptis libellum istum und Johannes Greff de nova
civitate.⁶

Berlin — Staatsbibliothek⁷

LATIN

Germ. oct. 1534⁸ Pap. 184 ff. 15th century
Ff. 26 ff. *De arte moriendi* *Incip.*: Cum de presentis exilii . . .

⁴ Attributed in another hand to Gerson.

⁵ Called in catalogue a "Betrachtungsbuch"; a sort of compendium of faith. It contains discussions of Pater Noster, Creed, ten commandments, seven deadly sins, and so forth. The piece after *Ars moriendi* is "Wider die Pestilenz." The *Ars moriendi* is written in a different hand from what precedes.

⁶ In Bamberg there are several other MS pieces which may be related to the *Ars moriendi*: Lat. 166 Ed. VII. 48, a summary of the CP; 123 B VI 17, ff., 46-58, "Tractatus de morte"; 42 ff., 256-60, "Privilegium mortis de salutari modo bene moriendi." An earlier catalog (Leipzig, 1887) gives as No. 400, ff. 68-75, a fifteenth-century "Tractatus de expeditione infirmorum qui sunt in articulo mortis."

⁷ *Kurzes Verzeichnis der germanischen HSS der (Berlin) Preussischen Staatsbibliothek*. My information has been kindly supplemented by Dr. Ludwig Denecke of the staff.

⁸ This is a Latin text of the *Ars moriendi* in a German MS.

GERMAN

Germ. oct. 664⁹ Pap. 207 ff. 1478

Ff. 111v-72v *Incip.*: Von dem [!] edelsten nutzberlichsten Kunst, die gesin mag ainem ycklichen cristenmenschen wol nottdurftig ze lernen . . . *Explic.*: Ob er wol und sicher sterben will. Amen.

Germ. fol. 1148 Pap. 451 ff. 1435¹⁰

Ff. 145v-54v *Incip.*: [defective] . . . ann nu der ausgankch von dem . . . merigen ellend. *Explic.*: Seid dem pabst das geschan von dem andechtigen gept seins Capplan des helff uns . . . in ewikeit. Amen.¹¹

Germ. oct. 356 Pap. 59 ff. 15th century

Ff. 1-59v *Incip.*: Nach deme male daz der ussganck des todes uss diessem Jammerlichen enelenden [!] leben . . . *Explic.*: . . . ehir on der tot bewaldiget wol ond seliclichen sterben lerne.

Germ. qrt. 73 Pap. & parchm. 204 ff. 15th century

Ff. 171v-204v *Incip.*: Syt dem mol das ussganck des todes . . . *Explic.*: (prayer) Der du do lebst Und rychsnest gott durch alle welt Der weltten. Amen.

Germ. oct. 575¹² Pap. 57 ff. 15th century

Incip.: Wenn der gang des todes vsz dises gegenwertigen . . . *Explic.*: (f. 54v) Im not ist, das er lerne sterben, E das In der tot begriffe. Amen. Two prayers follow.

Germ. fol. 19¹³ Pap. 257 ff. 1448¹⁴

Ff. 216v-24r. Gute ler einem sterbendem menschen an sinem end.

Incip.: Wie wol noch der lere des naturlichen meisters an dem dritten

⁹ Among the added contents of this MS are the "Vision of Tundale," the "Vision of Bishop Forseus," and the "Cordiale." Perhaps there is a connection with the typographic edition made at Augsburg in 1473 and 1476.

¹⁰ There is a footnote: "Das puechel hat gemacht ain mayster von Wien in 1435."

¹¹ This is the *exemplum* of the Pope and his chaplain which appears in some of the printed editions, especially those made at Cologne by Quentell (Pt. III, "Editions Made in Germany").

¹² The text is that of *GW* 2597, attributed to Matthew of Cracow (Pt. II, "The Question of Authorship").

¹³ This MS has, Dr. Denecke tells me, substantially the same text as the block book made by Ludwig von Ulm, *ca.* 1470. It is illustrated by pen-and-ink drawings, only one of which is related to the *Ars moriendi*, a not very attractive picture of a man on his deathbed with a devil and an angel standing behind it.

¹⁴ This is the date of the MS of the *Buch von den vierundzwanzig Alten*, which precedes the *Ars moriendi*, and which, according to the watermark is older.

büch der gütten Siten aller erschrockenlicher dinge der tod des libes ist . . .
Expl.: . . . dar umb menge sel ellendklich wirt versumet, dar vor vus
 Got der almechtig welle behutten.

*Brunswick — Stadtbibliothek*¹⁵

No. *CXLII* Pap. 210 x 114 mm. 173 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 124a-42a *Tractatus de arte moriendi* *Incip.:* Cum de presentis
 . . . *Expl.:* . . . mori discat. *Explicit.*

Splendida stella maris
 Reynerum spark tuearis.

No. *CLIX* Pap. 210 x 115 mm. 203 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 103a-16a *Tractatus de arte moriendi* *Incip.:* Cum de presentis
 . . . *Expl.:* . . . in eterna gloria colletetur Amen.

Danzig — Stadtbibliothek

1965¹⁶ Pap. 21 x 15 cm. 275 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 37b-43b *Incip.:* Cum de presentis . . . *Expl.:* . . . mori discat.
 Ars moriendi feliciter explicit die Martis XXIII mensis Decembris anno
 domini MCCCCLXXII.
 Ff. 68-77 (in different hand) *Incip.:* Cum de presentis . . . *Expl.:*
 . . . mori discat.¹⁷

Mar. F 202 Pap. 29 x 21 cm. 276 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 1-7 *De arte moriendi* *Incip.:* Cum de presentis . . . *Expl.:*
 . . . mori discat. *Explicit.*

*Mar. Q 27*¹⁸ Pap. 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 14 cm. 265 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 2-14 *Incipit tractatus moriendi. Et primo incipit prologus utilis et
 bonus. Cum de presentis . . .*¹⁹

Donaueschingen — Fürstlich-Fürstenbergische Bibliothek

No. 293²⁰ Pap. 20 279 ff. 15th century (1484)
 Ff. 262-79 *Eyn tractat der kunst wol ze sterbende dem menschen.*²¹

¹⁵ *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften in der Stadtbibliothek zu Braunschweig.*

¹⁶ *Katalog der HSS der Danziger Stadtbibliothek*, Pt. III, p. III.

¹⁷ MS 1966, ff. 187-98, is also classed as a *De arte moriendi*, but the *Incipit* makes the classification doubtful.

¹⁸ *Die Handschriften der Kirchenbibliothek von St. Marien in Danzig*, Pt. V of the catalogue. ¹⁹ Followed by the 'Modus disponendi ad mortem' of a 'certain Carthusian.'

²⁰ *Die Handschriften der Fürstlich-Fürstenbergischen Bibliothek zu Donaueschingen*, p. 235.

²¹ No. 467 in Donaueschingen has the title: "Das nach geschrieben ist gar ain gütt exempl
 von ain vnberaitten sterbenden menschen vnd ain warnung vnd lere aller sunder," pp.
 7b-17b. This sounds as if it is Suso's death chapter.

Dresden—Sächsische Landesbibliothek

No. M. 180²² Pap. 4 129 ff. 15th century

Ff. 1-16 Über die Behandlung Sterbender durch den Seelsorger, Gebete Sterbender *Incip.*: Es ist auch zewissen daz die siechen an iren lasten zeiten schwärer versuchung haben dann *F.5*: Wie man sie siechen fragen sol. . . . *Explic.*: daz gar ain grosser notdurft ist daz sich der mensch allso zu dem tod schicke jn mass alz hie vor geschrieben stet ob er wol und sicher sterben wil.²³

Erlangen—Universitätsbibliothek²⁴

LATIN

No. 487/1.2 (Steinmeyer, 1975h. 1975g. [aus Inc. 996]) Pap. 14.5 x 10.5 cm. 12+15 ff. 15th century

(1975g) *Tractatus de arte moriendi* *Incip.*: Dulcissime et amantissime dne. Jesu *Explic.*: . . . mori discat. Explicit tractatus de arte moriendi.

No. 585 (Irm. 839—Cc.V.5—H.ch.124) Pap. and parch. 29.5 x 21 cm. 230 ff. c. 1445

Ff. 211-20 *Incipit.*: . . . prohemium de arte moriendi. Cvm de presentis *Explic.*: . . . mori discat²⁵

GERMAN

No. 545 (Irm. 1746—Cc.VII.23—H.ch. 118) Pap. and parchm. 14.5 x 11 cm. 236 ff. 15th century

Ff. 1-33 *Incip.*: Hie vocht sich an die vorrede von der kunst des sterbens in dem namen der heiligen und vngteilten Triualtikeit. Amen. Wann der gang des todes uss disses gegenwirtigen ellendes ermlicheit vnd vnwissenheit des sterbendes *Explic.*: . . . das er lere sterben ee das in der dot hergriffe. Amen.

St. Florian—Stiftsbibliothek

No. XI. 163²⁶ Pap. with a few parchm. ff. 12° 377 ff. 15th century

²² *Katalog der HSS der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek zu Dresden.*

²³ This is evidently the CP text, since it has temptations and interrogations. It contains the "Vision of Bishop Forseus," which is sometimes found with the CP text. No. A. 19 is a seventeenth-century MS with the title "Die Kunst wohl und selig zu sterben."

²⁴ *Katalog der Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen*, II, 77.

²⁵ In Irmischer's catalogue of Erlangen MSS (1852) the description reads in part: "Sermones et exhortationes capitulares quibus adduntur sermones diversi, e.g., *Ars moriendi*" (218, No. 839). ²⁶ *Die Handschriften Stiftsbibliothek St. Florian.*

Ff. 212b-30b Nicolaus Tinckelpüchl,²⁷ *Tractatus de arte bene moriendi* *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . .

No. XI. 186 Pap. 8° 321 ff. 1451

Ff. 300a-19a *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . . *Explic.*: . . . mori discat, Risus cum fletu anno domini 51 deo gratias²⁸

No. XI. 195 Pap. 12° 182 ff. 15th and 16th centuries

Ff. 100b-60b *Tractatus de arte moriendi cum orationibus pro moribundis*. *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . .

No. XI. 224 Pap. 2° 383 ff. 15th century

Ff. 374a-83b *Tractatus de arte moriendi*. *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . .

Frankfurt a.M.—Stadtbibliothek

*Cod. 98*²⁹ Defective. *Incip.*: . . . et se deo totum plenarie committere. Unde Scotus super IIII sentenciarum dicit: si qui infirmus . . . This is part of TAv of the CP text. The date of the MS is 1431, one of the earliest to be found on any MS of the *Ars moriendi*, either version.³⁰ *Explic.*: . . . mori discat.

Giessen—Bibliothek der Ludwigs-Universität Giessen

No. B.g.XVI.71.4 (DCCLXXXVIII)³¹ Pap. 292 ff. 15th century

Ff. 13-29a *Tractatus de arte bene moriendi*. *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . . *Explic.*: . . . peccatum est. Followed by Latin verses on death.

Ff. 29b-40 *De arte bene moriendi*.³²

²⁷ Ascription to Nikolaus is found in several other MSS.

²⁸ Followed by Gerson's exhortations from his *De arte moriendi*.

²⁹ Franz, *Der Katholik*, XXI (1900), 137.

³⁰ As the title of Franz's article suggests, he uses this MS to prove that the *Ars moriendi* appeared too early for Capranica to have written it.

³¹ *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Academicae Gissensis*, p. 236.

³² In MS B.S. 125. 4. DCCLXXXIV, ff. 27-41a, "Tractatus tres de morientibus"; ff. 41-50, "Admonitiones et orationes infirmis et agonizantibus utiles. Speculum infirmorum. Germanice." Borchling mentions a similar MS at Giessen, No. 693, ff. 75v-76v, in the language of the Lower Rhine. *Incip.*: Dit sal mā lesen vor eyne menschē de da stervē sal. . . Mensche vrouwes du du dich dat du inn kirsteme gelouvē stervē salt. . . . *Explic.*: wat du haſs mich erloit. He places it in the 14th century (*Mittelniederdeutsche HSS in den Rheinlanden*, p. 136).

Gotha—Herzogliche Bibliothek

Guichard³³ and Weigel³⁴ both describe a Latin MS of the CP version written in 1437 by Johann von Widenburg. The early date is significant. *Explic.*: Explicit libelus [sic] de arte moriendi scriptus feria quinta proxima ante festum petri et pauli apostolorum. Anno dom. a nativitate eiusdem Millesimo quadringentesimo tricesimo septimo. hora vesperorum vñ qua^d per me Johannem de Widenberga.

Göttingen—Universitäts Bibliothek

LATIN

*Theol. 147*³⁵ Pap. 21 x 15 cm. 228 ff. 15th century
Ff. 160–76b *Tractatus de arte moriendi* *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . .
Ends with prayers.

Theol. 200 i 21 x 15 cm. 254 ff. 1517
Ff. 1155–166b *Incip.*: Quamvis . . . This agrees with text of edition printed at Landshut, 1514. In other words, this is the QS text.

GERMAN

*Theol. 147*³⁶
Ff. 144b–60 *Von der kunst des sterbens.* *Incip.*: Wanne der gang des todes usz dysem ellende . . .³⁷

Hamburg—Stadtbibliothek

*No. XII.*³⁸ Pap. 4° 213 ff. Early 15th century
Ff. 134b–36b *Van der kunst to stervende, wo sik en yslk mynsche to stervē de schal bereden.* *Incip.*: Na deme dat de uthganck desses levendes vormyddelst deme naturliken dode vele mynschen gheyslik und werltlik gantz . . . Followed by discussion of the temptations, then the interrogations of Anselm. Evidently the CP text.

³³ *Bulletin du bibliophile*, VIII (1840), 298.

³⁴ *Die Anfänge der Druckerkunst in Bild und Schrift*, II, 4. See also Jacobs and Ukert's *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der älteren Literatur*, I, 75.

³⁵ *Die Handschriften in Göttingen*, Pt. II, "Universitäts Bibliothek."

³⁶ This MS, which is written in seven different hands, is part Latin and part German.

³⁷ In the university library at Greifswald there is a late fifteenth-century MS in Low German which may be connected with the *Ars moriendi* (MS 3 in 8°, ff. 411r–423v). See *Die HSS der Abteilung für niederdeutsche Literatur bei der Universitäts-bibliothek zu Greifswald*, Beiheft zum *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, LVII (1926), 9.

³⁸ Borchling, ed., *Mittelniederdeutsche HSS in Norddeutschland und den Niederlanden*, p. 107.

Hannover—Stadtbibliothek

No. 84a³⁹ The *Ars moriendi* "of Dietrich Engelhusen"⁴⁰ *Incipit*.: Synt
deme male dat von scheut der nature den liffliken dod neyn mysch
vor nyden mach . . . *Explic.*: . . . gheschut des nicht so vor twivelt he vil
lichte dar uns god alle vor be hode. Et sic est finis.⁴¹

*Heidelberg—Universitäts-Bibliothek*LATIN⁴²

Salem VII, 99 Pap. 15.4 x 21.7 cm. 149 ff. 15th century
Ff. 70a-78a *De arte moriendi* *Incipit*.: [Q]uamvis secundum . . . The
text of the QS.⁴³

GERMAN

Pal. germ. 60 Pap. 2.4 x 28.7 cm. 192 ff. ca. 1460⁴⁴
Ff. 129b-44d Von der Kunst zu sterben. *Incipit*.: Das erste cappitel
set vns von dem lobe des todes. The work ends with prayers.

Pal. germ. 226 Pap. 21.7 x 31.1 cm. 315 ff. 15th century
Ff. 209a-25a Das buchlin von der künft des sterbens fahet also an
WAnnt der gang des todes uss diesem allende . . . *Explic.*: . . . ee das
jne tod begriff. Das buchlin von der kunst des Sterbens hat hie ein
Ende. Followed by prayers and instructions on death.

Pal. germ. 617 Pap. 10.1 x 15.5 cm. 288 ff. 15th century
Ff. 185b-234b Von der edelstē nuczperlichesten kunst die gesein mag
auch einem yeglichen cristen mēschen wol nottürftig zü lernen Sagt diss
her nach geschriften būch oder tracta vnd das würt zü latein genant ars
moriendi Das ist vom dem kunste des sterbens. *Incipit*.: Als nun der

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

⁴⁰ Borchling attributes the *Ars moriendi* in many Low German MSS to Engelhusen.

⁴¹ Among the MSS of the Heine family at Halberstadt is a 15th century MS in 12, containing a Low German work with the *Incipit*: Hyr geyt an de kunst wol to star [uende]. (Borchling, ed., *Mittelniederdeutsche HSS in Wolfenbüttel*, p. 241).

⁴² *Die altdeutschen HSS der Universitäts-Bibliothek in Heidelberg*, pp. 202-3. Followed by other pieces on dying, including one that might be Gerson's, 81a-82a.

⁴³ *Pal. germ. 69* and *Pal. germ. 537*, 170a, have exercises for the dying, including the Anselm Questions.

⁴⁴ Bartsch, editor of the catalogue, says merely "15th century"; the "ca. 1460" is given in *Beschreibendes Verzeichniß der deutschen Bilder—Handschriften des späten Mittelalters in der Heidelberger Universitäts Bibliothek*, p. 59. Wegener, the editor, describes the miniatures in this MS, but none are related closely to the *Ars moriendi*.

gang des gegenwärtigen lebens von der armüt vmb vnuerstandikayt des sterbens . . . *Explic.*: . . . zü ierusalem in dem himlischen frid.⁴⁵

Pal. germ. 639 Pap. 10.1 x 15.8 cm. 187 ff. 1460

Ff. 26b-31a *Incip.*: Ditz sind funff streit Die ain mensch tün vnd haun müsz an seinem. ende mit dem posen gaist. The work is preceded by the *exemplum* of the Pope and the Paternosters.

Kalbe—a.d. unteren Milde, im Besitze des Herrn Superintendenten Müller

No number.⁴⁶ Ff. 1r-57v small 8° 151 ff. 2nd half of 15th century
The *Ars moriendi* "of Dietrich Engelhusen" (which is the CP text).⁴⁷
Incip.: Hjir begint de kunst to steruene. DAervñe dat van vnwetenheyt wegheue der kunst wal tho steruene . . .

Karlsruhe—Badische Landesbibliothek

*No. 90*⁴⁸ 303 x 202 mm. 170 ff. 1431

Ff. 158-65 *Incipit.*: Hic incipit tractatus de arte morienti⁴⁹ Cum de presentis . . . *Explic.*: per omnia secula seculorum. Amen. 1431. Ex- plicit tractatus de arte moriendi multum utilis⁵⁰ One of the earliest MSS known.⁵¹

No. 142 213 x 150 mm. 219 ff. 15th century

Ff. 122-27 *Mementtote fratris Johannis qui scripssit tractatus de arte moriendi* *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . . *Explic.*: . . . periclitantur.⁵²

Karlsruhe—Bibliothek von St. Peter

*Pap. 15*⁵³ (1769) *Ars moriendi*⁵⁴

⁴⁵ This is followed by certain other works on death including the *exemplum* of the three Paternosters and a piece that occurs in several of the *Ars moriendi* MSS, attributed to "quidam monachus ordinis carthusiensis" and beginning "Ego frater M. indignus. . . ." Here it is in German.

⁴⁶ Borchling, ed., *Mittelniederdeutsche HSS in den Rheinlanden*, p. 30.

⁴⁷ Perhaps Engelhusen made the Low German translation. His name appears many times in Low German MSS of the *Ars moriendi*.

⁴⁸ Holder, *Die HSS der Grossherzoglich Badischen Hof- und Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe*, II, 205. ⁴⁹ Inserted here: "von R. Rolle de Hampole."

⁵⁰ Other death pieces follow, including the one by the "certain Carthusian, *supra*, n. 45.

⁵¹ For this MS at Karlsruhe see Franz's note, *Der Katholik*, XXI (1900), 384.

⁵² MS contains other death pieces, including the *exemplum*, *supra*, n. 45. The MS attributes the *Ars moriendi* to Richard Rolle.

*Klosterneuberg—Library of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine*No. 405⁵⁵ Pap. 29 x 21.5 cm. 395 ff. 15th centuryFf. 345'-48' *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . . *Explic.* (per verba): Usque ad mortem inclusve . . .⁵⁶*Krems—Kremsmünster-Bibliothek des Benediktiner-Stiftes*No. 317⁵⁷

Ff. 265-73 1446

*Melk—Library of the Benedictine Monastery*No. 1 (A.1)⁵⁸ Pap. 4° 424 ff. 15th centuryFf. 25-44 *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . . *Explic.*: . . . mori discat. Laus deo.

No. 8 (A.10) Pap. 4° 1+465 ff. 15th century

Ff. 116-49 *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . . *Explic.*: In quo nos redemisti.⁵⁹*Munich—Staatsbibliothek⁶⁰*

LATIN

2764 Parchm. 2° 118 ff. 1451

Ff. 1-9 *Tractatus de arte moriendi* *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . .

3417 Pap. 2° 236 ff. 1439

Ff. 226-35b *Tractatus de arte moriendi* *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . .

⁵⁵ *Geschichte der Bibliothek von S. Peter im Schwarzwalde unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Handschriften-bestandes*, *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, N.F. XV (1900), 629. This library is not among those mentioned in *Minerva Jahrbuch der gelehrten Welt*, 1937.

⁵⁶ A “Quattuor novissima” is in this MS also.

⁵⁷ *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum, qui in Bibliotheca Canonicorum Regularium S. Augustini Claustroneburgi asservantur*, II, 404.

⁵⁸ In Klagenfurt (Studienbibliothek) Pap.-HS 19, ff. 148r-158v, has the title “Tractatus de arte moriendi,” but the text is apparently not that of the *Ars moriendi*. See Menhardt, ed., *Handschriftenverzeichnis österreichischer Bibliotheken*, I, 105.

⁵⁹ Franz, *Der Katholik*, XXI (1900), 136.

⁶⁰ *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum qui in Bibliotheca Monasterii Mellicensis O.S.B. servantur*, I, 1.

⁶¹ MSS of the *Ars moriendi* at Melk were more numerous in the Middle Ages (see Gottlieb, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge*. Österreichs, I, 137 ff.).

⁶² *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, Vols. III-IV.

3589 Pap. 4° 378 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 360-67 *Tractatus de arte moriendi* *Incipit*.: Cum de presentis . . .

3591 4° 223 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 85-110 *Tractatus de arte moriendi* *Incipit*.: Cum de presentis . . .

3594 4° 216 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 108-24 *Tractatus de arte moriendi*

3661 4° 231 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 168-79 *Tractatus de arte moriendi*

3786 fol. 183 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 175-77 *De arte moriendi*

4144 2° 291 ff. 1432
 Ff. 132-42 *Ars moriendi*⁶¹

4362 2° 181 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 1-11 *Ars moriendi*

4373 2° 119 ff. 1437
 Ff. 96-107 *Ars moriendi*

4397 4° 190 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 121-60 *Tractatulus bene moriendi*

4402 4° 173 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 93-109 *Tractatus de arte moriendi*

4405 4° 179 ff. 14th century [!]
 Ff. 73-87 *Tractatus de arte moriendi*

4769 4° 264 ff. 1469 *et seq.*
 Ff. 155-67 *Tractatus de arte moriendi*

5219 4° 151 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 112-23 *Tractatus de arte moriendi*

5238 4° 270 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 30-44 *Tractatus de arte moriendi*. Prologue: In nomine sanctae et
 individuae trinitatis . . .⁶²

⁶¹ Followed by an “Alius modus disponendi se ad mortem.”

⁶² Followed by the *exemplum* of the Pope and the three Paternosters and Gerson’s *De arte moriendi*.

5607 2° 239 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 36-43 *Ars moriendi* *Incipit*.: Cum de presentis . . .

5673 4° 121 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 100-18 *Ars moriendi*

5931 4° 247 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 187-96 *Ars moriendi*

6174 2° 290 ff. 1428
 De arte moriendi

7008 2° 268 ff. 1463 *et seq.*
 Ff. 232-33 De arte moriendi
 Ff. 236-41 *Tractatus de arte moriendi*⁶³

7442 2° 280 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 206-13 *Tractatus de arte moriendi*

7527 2° 212 ff. 1434
 Ff. 206-12 *Tractatus de arte moriendi*

7565 2° 427 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 263-370 *Ars moriendi*

7606 2° 278 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 262-72 De arte moriendi⁶⁴

7643 4° 221 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 150-58 *Ars moriendi*

7828 8° 195 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 109-43 *Tractatus de arte moriendi*⁶⁵

11403 Pap. 2° 255 ff. 1458-60
 Ff. 250-55 *Ars moriendi*

11587 Pap. 2° 167 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 73-84 De arte moriendi⁶⁶

⁶³ Capranica's name is given in the catalogue. The MS contains also a "Speculum mortis cuiusdam carthusiensis," which might be Jacobus's (Pt. IV, "Contemporary Books in Latin") or that of the "certain monk," whose work on death is often found with the *Ars moriendi*; also a "Speculum mortis quadripartitum," which may be Gerson's.

⁶⁴ MS contains also "De temptationibus diaboli" and "Augustini speculum mortis."

⁶⁵ Followed by "similis tractatus."

⁶⁶ This and 11741 and 11748 are attributed, strangely, to Pope Innocent III.

11741 Pap. 4° 185 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 130-47 De arte moriendi

11748 Pap. 4°
 Ff. 90-104 De arte moriendi

14104 Pap. 2° 429 ff. 15th century
 Pp. 410-12 De arte moriendi

14232 Pap. 2° 292 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 85-91 Tractatus de arte moriendi

14319 2° 337 ff. 1449
 Ff. 271-337 Tractatus de arte moriendi

14595 4° 176 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 131-36 Tractatus de arte moriendi

14825 8° 156 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 135-56 De arte moriendi

15188 4° 90 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 23-65 De arte moriendi

15329 4° 218 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 144-47 Ars bene moriendi

15963 Parchm. 8° 86 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 65-86 Tractatus de arte moriendi *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . .

17621 4° 202 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 85-96 De arte moriendi

18276 2° 348 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 330-40 Tractatus de arte moriendi⁶⁷

18365 2° 347 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 309-20 De Arte moriendi⁶⁸

18639 4° 316 ff. 1450
 Ff. 293-301 De arte moriendi⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Attributed to Nikolaus Dinkelsbühl (Pt. I, "The Question of Authorship").

⁶⁸ Attributed to Nikolaus von Dinkelsbühl.

⁶⁹ Attributed to Nikolaus von Dinkelsbühl.

18965 8° 231 ff. 1520-40

Varia de missa, de arte moriendi, etc., Latin and German

19544 2° 349 ff. 15th century

F.197 De arte moriendi *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . .

19633 4° 196 ff. c. 1435

Ff. 38-39 Ars moriendi

19837 8° 271 ff. 16th century

F.39 Varia de arte moriendi et protestationes morientium

19839 8° 192 ff. 15th century

F.142 Ars moriendi⁷⁰

19885 8° 276 ff. 15th century

Ff. 146-56 De arte moriendi

21107 4° 95 ff. 15th century

F.1 Ars moriendi

23787 2° 348 ff. 15th century

Ff. 184-95 *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . .⁷¹

23833 2° 355(331) ff. 15th century

Ff. 142-78 make a sort of death book.⁷²

Ff. 158-72 De arte moriendi *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . .

23837 2° 269 ff. 1443

Ff. 27-38 Ars moriendi *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . .

24510 4° 194 ff. 15th century

Ff. 108-19 Ars moriendi

24803 4° 233 ff. 1461

Ff. 158-71 De arte moriendi *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . .

24856 4° 6 ff. 15th century

F.4. Ars moriendi *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . .

⁷⁰ Added in MS: "Das ich nicht undanckper sey den guttat."

⁷¹ Catalogue says "Gerson's Ars moriendi," an obvious error.

⁷² Some of the other contents are "Tractatus de gemitu et dolore mortis" (f. 149); "Adolescens et mors" (f. 149); "Dialogus mortis et divitiis victi, infirmi" (f. 151); "Der Tod Spricht zu dem Menschen, 'Mensch gedenck an mich'" (f. 151).

26793 4° 239 ff. 15th century

Ff. 216-26 De arte moriendi *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . .

26820 4° 190 ff. 14th & 15th centuries

Ff. 172-83 Ars moriendi *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . .

26844 8° 169 ff. 16th century

Ff. 50-75 Ars moriendi

26942 4° 332 ff. 1478

Ff. 305-21 *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . .⁷³

GERMAN⁷⁴

71⁷⁵ Parchm. 18.5 x 13.5 cm. 19 ff. 15th century

Ff. 1r-19 *Incip.*: Gedennckh in all deinen werckenn dein lectze zeit so

wirstu nymer ewigleich sundenn. Seint dem mall das allen menschen . . .

Explic.: seint demmal das allain ein yeczlicher mennsch gericht wirdt

nach dem als er wirt . . .

218 Pap. 2° 274 ff. 1487

Ff. 172-98 Wie der mensch soll geistlich sterben

281 Pap. 2° 121 ff. 1456

Ff. 116-21 Anleitung zu einem seligen Sterben

394 Pap. 4° 296 ff. 1477

Ff. 253-68 Kunst zu sterben

Ff. 268-88 Kunst zu sterben

427 4° 253 ff. 1479

Ff. 65-75 Die kunst zu sterben (the first four of the usual six parts of the CP)

458 Pap. 8° 337 ff. 15th century

Ff. 182-99 Wie der Mensch geistlich sterben soll in dreierlei Weise

Ff. 281-313 Ars moriendi (in German)⁷⁶

⁷³ Followed by "De morte et de temptationibus diaboli."

⁷⁴ Several Munich MSS contain the Latin work called "Modus disponendi se ad mortem" or by an equivalent title: Nos. 4749, 8394, 12591, 19816. In 7442 (ff. 213-15) "carthusiani" is added. In 3115 there is a "Tractatus de morte"; in 5235, a "De expedicione infirmorum" and a "De morte"; in 14902, a "De provisione infirmorum," together with "De arte moriendi tractatus varii."

⁷⁵ See *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Bibliotheca Regiae Monacensis*, V, 8. Also *Die deutschen Pergament-handschriften . . . in München*, 115.

⁷⁶ This is of the group of MSS which contain also the "Vision of Tundale," the "Vision

462 Pap. 8° 202 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 13-27 Wie der Mensch geistlich sterben soll in dreierlei Weise

466 8° 118 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 40-74 Kunst zu sterben

480 8° 175 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 118-65 Kunst zu sterben

744 4° 256 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 105-12 Des Sterbenden Anfechtungen duide den Teufel, etc.

764 Pap. 4° 133 ff. 1453
 Kunst zu sterben

766 4° 191 ff. 1435
 Ars moriendi (German)

817 8° 301 ff. 15th and 16th centuries
 Ff. 256-58 Von hailsamen Sterben und Schickung dazu

835 Pap. 8° 322 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 272-76 V Streite des sterbenden Menschen⁷⁷

1145 4° 60 ff. 15th and 16th centuries
 Ff. 53-60 Von des Kunst zu sterben⁷⁸

4285 4° 234 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 81-88 Von der Anweigungen des sterben

4313 4° 160 ff. 1628
 Form den Sterbenden zu helpen

5314 4° 172 ff. 14th and 15th centuries
 Ff. 68-88 Lob des Todes und der Kunst zu sterben

4358 4° 168 ff. 1472-75
 Regiment so der mensch sterben will, wie er gefragt werden soll (De arte moriendi, with the sixth chapter in Latin)

4591 8° 228 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 195-228 Wie der mensch soll lernen sterben⁷⁹

of the Bishop of Forseus," the "Cordiale," here all in German. See Berlin MS germ oct. 664, Dresden MS 180. ⁷⁷ Contains also Suso's chapter.

⁷⁸ Ff. 1-52, Jacobus de Voragine's "De animabus exutis corpore" in German.

⁷⁹ This MS is apparently a compendium of faith, for it contains also treatises on the seven deadly sins, the virtues, the ten commandments.

24528 4° 28 ff. 1467

Ff. 27-28 Wie du dich halten solt in dem sterben⁸⁰

Prague—Public Library⁸¹

I.E.39 Pap. 22 x 16 cm. 327 ff. 15th century

Ff. 304a-27b *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . . *Explic.*: . . . mori discat.
Title in catalogue is "Exhortationes infirmorum."

VII. C.6. Pap. 30 x 21 cm. 295 ff. 15th century

Ff. 6-17b Tractatus de arte moriendi *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . .

Explic.: . . . contra hostes tuos et meos.⁸²

XIII. G.3 Pap. 21 x 16.5 cm. 260 ff. 1489-1512

Ff. 85a-99a Speculum artis bene moriendi *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . . *Explic.*: . . . sine dubio salvabitur. ars bene moriendi finis a. 1508 ipso die s. Valentini in loco 14 auxiliatorum extra cadanum Fr. eberhardus qui supra.⁸³

XI A.10 Pap. 31 x 21.5 cm. 374 ff. 15th century

Ff. 254a-57a Proemium de arte moriendi *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . . *Explic.*: . . . maxime superantur.

XIV. F.8 Pap. 22 x 15 cm. 248 ff. 15th century (part, ca. 1440)

Ff. 1a-11b Tractatus de arte moriendi *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . .

Explic.: . . . gaudia paciaris in s.s. Explicit allocutio fratris morientis.

XIV. E.5 Parchm. 28 x 20 cm. 163 ff. 15th century (part, ca. 1454)

Ff. 121a-34a Tractatus de arte moriendi *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . .

Explic.: . . . mori discat. Hoc h. Augustinus.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ The title suggests that this may be only an allied work. MS 758, ff. 2-27, contains "Des Sterbender Klag und Reue," also a German "Four Last Things," St. Benedict's "Lehre und Gebete um ein seliges Sterben," and Gerson's *De arte moriendi*. In the German National Museum in Nuremberg there is a MS (No. 60629) containing a "Sterbekunst" beginning: "Dit sint etzliche goede lere van dem dode die eyne mynsche sal bedecken up dat hei nu lere sterven dat bei die besser sterven kunne sterven als die ure des doitz kompt." Apparently it consists of exhortations for preparation for death for every day in the week (see Borchling, ed., *Mittelniederdeutsche HSS in den Rheinlanden*, p. 161).

⁸¹ Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Latinorum qui in C.R. Publica atque Universitatis Pragensis asservantur.

⁸² Ff. 28a-31b, "Tractatus de expedicione infirmorum."

⁸³ Ff. 70a-79b, "Opusculum ex floribus scriptorum collectum de arte moriendi . . ." anno 1484; ff. 99a-127a, Jacob de Clusa's "De arte bene moriendi."

⁸⁴ Two other Prague MSS may be allied: I.B. 15, "Opusculum de mortuis" and I.D. 11, "Tractatus anepigraphus et in fine mancus de preparatione ad mortem" (ff. 292b-294a).

Schlägl—Bibliothek des Prämonstratenser

46 Cpl. (454, a.) 61⁸⁵ Pap. 2° 395 ff. 14th and 15th centuries
 Ff. 102-11 Tractatus de arte moriendi *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . .
Explic.: . . . omnibus dico vigilate . . . Et sic est finis.

Stuttgart—Württembergische Landesbibliothek

Cod. theol. 4° 235⁸⁶ De arte moriendi: Ordo ad visitandum infirmum

Stuttg. H.B. I, 51⁸⁷ 1460
 Tractatus de arte moriendi

Stuttg. HB. I, 50⁸⁸ 15th century
 Tractatus de arte moriendi

Trier—Stadtbibliothek

680⁸⁹/879 Pap. 138 x 207 mm. 294 ff. 16th century
 Ff. 231-40v De arte moriendi *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . . *Explic.*: . . . gaudia potiaris in secula seculorum. Amen.
 Ff. 241-42v. The *Proficiscere anima*, ending "occupet mori discat. Et sic est finis."

689 Pap. 144 x 215 mm. 280 ff. 15th century

Ff. 83-92 De arte et scientia moriendi *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . .
Explic.: qui est benedictus in secula. Amen. Explicit libellus de arte moriendi per me got Voijs de kerpen.

781/821 Pap. and parchm. 100 x 140 mm. 333 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 248-53 Quattuor Novissima.⁹⁰ *Incip.*: Qum omnium terribilium mors corporis sit terribilissima omnis Φ mori tam ex debito quam iure naturali necesse existat.⁹¹ *Explic.*: . . . commendo spiritum meum cum

⁸⁵ *Catalogus codicum Plagensium manuscriptorum*, p. 48.

⁸⁶ This MS formerly belonged to the monastery at Zwiefalten (Klemens Löffler, ed., *Die HSS des Klosters Zwiefalten*, p. 46). It was No. 114 and, according to Dr. Löffler, is of the fourteenth century.

⁸⁷ Formerly F 20 fol. in the monastery at Weingarten (see Karl Löffler, ed., *Die HSS des Klosters Weingarten*, Beiheft zum *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, p. 91).

⁸⁸ Formerly F 21 fol. at Weingarten (*ibid.*).

⁸⁹ *Die asetischen HSS der Stadtbibliothek zu Trier*, p. 23. For information about the Treves MSS I am much indebted to the graciousness of Dr. Hermann Knaus, Librarian.

⁹⁰ This title is inaccurate.

⁹¹ Dr. Knaus has been most helpful in supplying information about this MS. He recognizes the similarity of the *Incipit* to that of the QS version and regards the work as an enlargement of the QS.

aliis orationibus praesenti materis applicatis que in tractatu artis moriendi continentur et inveniuntur. Amen.⁹²

Vienna—Nationalbibliothek

LATIN

1354⁹³ (Nov. 383) Pap. & parchm. 4° 219 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 122b-27b De arte bene moriendi *Incip.*: Id circa in presenti . . .
Explic.: . . . discat in precedentis.⁹⁴

3419 (Nov. 260) Pap. fol.° 297 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 288a-97b De arte moriendi of Dominicus Capranica⁹⁵

3607 (Lunael. Q.15) Pap. 4° 162 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 1a-12a De arte moriendi of Dominicus Capranica

3651 (Lunael. O.131) Pap. 8° 297 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 288a-97b De arte moriendi of Dominicus Capranica

3722 (Lunael. f.214) Pap. fol.° 252 ff. 1437
 Ff. 241a-47b Ars moriendi of Dominicus Capraica.

3731 (Lunael. f.185) Pap. fol.° 299 ff. 1400⁹⁶
 Ff. 295a-99b Ars moriendi of Dominicus Capranica

3733 (Lunael. f.217) Pap. fol.° 297 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 277b-83b Ars moriendi of Dominicus Capranica

3839 (Lunael. O.162) Pap. 8° 181 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 77a-99b De arte moriendi of Dominicus Capranica

3904 (Lunael. f.154) Pap. fol.° 305 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 292b-302a De arte moriendi of Dominicus Capranica

3909 (Lunael. f.107) Pap. fol.° 211 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 155a-66b De arte moriendi of Dominicus Capranica

⁹² Dr. Knaus says of the *Explicit*: "Man sieht: unser Text nimmt Bezug auf die gewöhnliche Ars moriendi, er empfiehet sie und ist offenbar ein Kommenter dazu." MS 784/1366, he tells me, is Suso's chapter; MS 798/1386, though called "De arte bene moriendi," has no bearing on the work discussed here.

⁹³ *Tabulae codicvm manuscriptorvm . . . in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum*, p. 1. ⁹⁴ "Discat" in *Explicit* suggests CP.

⁹⁵ Suggests CP. ⁹⁶ Too early not to be very doubtful.

4012 (Lunael. Q.93) Pap. 4° 144 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 41a-52b *De arte moriendi* of Dominicus Capranica⁹⁷

4013 (Lunael. Q.189) Pap. 4° 300 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 289b-300b *Ars bene moriendi* of Dominicus Capranica⁹⁸

4014 (Lunael. Q.197) Pap. 4° 1418, 1419, 1440
 Ff. 5a-26a *Ars bene moriendi* of Dominicus Capranica⁹⁹

4065 (Nov. 179) Pap. 8° 409 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 316a-41a *De arte bene moriendi* of Dominicus Capranica

4067 (Nov. 204) Pap. & parchm. 8° 248 ff. 1439, 1447, 1459
 Ff. 16a-46b *Ars bene moriendi* of Dominicus Capranica

4089 (Lunael. O.54) Pap. 8° 219 ff. 1460, 1478
 Ff. 194a-217b *De arte moriendi* of Dominicus Capranica

4178 (Theol. 256) Pap. fol.° 446 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 252a-64b *Ars bene moriendi* of Dominicus Capranica¹⁰⁰

4180 (Theol. 183) Pap. fol.° 242 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 173a-76b *Ars bene moriendi* of Dominicus Capranica

4221 (Theol. 264) Pap. fol.° 315 ff. 15th century
 313a-15b *Ars bene moriendi* of Dominicus Capranica

4419 (Theol. 307) Pap. fol.° 328 ff. 15th century
 266b-70a *De arte bene moriendi* of Dominicus Capranica

4444 (Salisb. 78) Pap. fol.° 389 ff. 15th century
 106b-13b *Ars bene moriendi* of Dominicus Capranica¹⁰¹

4507 (Univ. 98) Pap. 4° 300 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 16b-25b *Ars moriendi* of Dominicus Capranica

4548 (Theol. 814) Pap. & parchm. 8° 160 ff. 14th and 15th centuries
 Ff. 45a-72a *De arte bene moriendi* of Dominicus Capranica

⁹⁷ Contains "Cordiale," ff. 77a-116a.

⁹⁸ In the Vienna MSS the titles are no help in determining the text; works with three different titles are ascribed to Cardinal Capranica.

⁹⁹ 1418 is probably the date of the *Ars bene moriendi*, since that is the first work in the MS (Ff. 1b-4b are blank). ¹⁰⁰ Preceded by Gerson's *Opusculum*.

¹⁰¹ Preceded in MS by the prayer of the "certain Carthusian."

4570 (Salisb. 47) Pap. fol.º 375 ff. 1454, 1455
 Ff. 328a-36a *De arte bene moriendi* of Dominicus Capranica

4614 (Univ. 627) Pap. fol.º 196 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 189a-96b *Ars moriendi* of Dominicus Capranica

4688 (N.s.n.) Pap. 4º 230 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 182b-96b *De arte bene moriendi* of Dominicus Capranica

4731 (Rec. 2222) Pap. 4º 165 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 149a-54b *De arte bene moriendi* of Dominicus Capranica

4876 (Univ. 723) Pap. fol. 180 ff. 15th and 16th centuries
 Ff. 104b-13b *Ars bene moriendi* of Dominicus Capranica

4946 (Theol. 621) Pap. 4º 223 ff. 1481
 Ff. 83a-94a *Ars bene moriendi* of Dominicus Capranica¹⁰²

5086 (Theol. 291) Pap. fol.º 295 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 35a-49b *Ars bene moriendi* of Dominicus Capranica¹⁰³

5501 (Lunael. Q.94) Pap. 4º 337 ff. 1441, 1445, 1447
 Ff. 318a-27b *Ars bene moriendi* of Dominicus Capranica

13822 (Suppl. 1501)¹⁰⁴ Pap. 4º 210 ff. 1443
 Ff. 152a-75b *De arte moriendi libellus* of Dominicus Capranica¹⁰⁵

GERMAN

2800¹⁰⁶ Pap. fol.º 156 ff. 1434
 Ff. 148a-56a *Incip.*: Hye hebt sich an die kunst von dem hailsamen sterbens die zu deutsch pracht hat her Thoman Pharrer ze hoff A.D. 1434

2957¹⁰⁷ (Lunael. Q.66) Pap. 8º 68 ff. 15th and 16th centuries
 Ff. 23a-35b *Ars moriendi* (German) *Incip.*: In ainem waren kristenlichen gelauben . . . *Explic.*: und mit dem heiligen geist lebt und herst, etc.

¹⁰² Ff. 95a-109a, "Vision of Tundale." See Berlin MS germ oct. 664, Munich Lat. 458, Dresden MS 180.

¹⁰³ Ff. 49b-50a, *Versus hexametri de morte*. *Incip.*: Mors est ventura. . . .

¹⁰⁴ MS 13822 also contains the "Cordiale," the "De planctus nature" of Alanus and the "De miserabili humane conditionis" of Pope Innocent III.

¹⁰⁵ MS Lat. 1747, ff. 136b-137a, "De temptationibus et resistantibus contra eas," and MS Lat. 4694, ff. 3a-5a, "De temptationibus," may be related to the *Ars moriendi*.

¹⁰⁶ *Verzeichniss der altdutschen HSS der k.k. Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, ed. by von Fallersleben, p. 344. ¹⁰⁷ *Tabulae codicum manu scriptorum*, etc., II, 162.

3009 (Philos. 586) Pap. 8° 240 ff. 15th century

Ff. 210b-16a Fragmentum germanicum ex Ars Moriendi *Incip.*: Von dem lobe des todes *Explic.*: ... empfilhe ich mynen geist.¹⁰⁸

3020 (N.s.n) Pap. 12° 176 ff. 15th century

Ff. 1a-78b Ars moriendi *Incip.*: Na deme male dat ... *Explic.*: ... usque ad mortem

3021 (Lunael. o.98) Pap. 8° 243 ff. 15th century

Ff. 180b-90b Ars moriendi germanica *Incip.*: Ye wol als der näturlich ...¹⁰⁹ *Explic.*: und sölichew kranckhayt ... (The text stops here; ff. 191a-94b, blank)

Ff. 195a-203b Tractatus germanicus de temptationibus *Incip.*: Dy erst anfechtung ist¹¹⁰ ... *Explic.*: ... zeiltennymmer mer verlasset. Amen.

3026 (Lunael. O. 193) Pap. 8° 218 ff. 15th century

Ff. 1a-10a Meditatio germanica de quinque temptationibus in hore mortis ... *Incip.*: Es ist ze merken das ... *Explic.*: der da ist gesegent ewigleich. Amen.

3086 (Rec. 2252) Pap. fol.° 235 ff. 15th century

With pen and ink drawings, colored¹¹¹

Ff. 229a-35b Ars moriendi in German *Incip.*: Wann Nu der Ausgankch von dem jamirigen ellend mit dem leibpleichenn tod ist vill menschen nicht allain den weltleichn ... *Explic.*: ... so ist in der czall der Behalten an czwei vell (Here it breaks off.)¹¹²

FRENCH

3390 (Hist. prof. 576)¹¹³ Pap. fol.° 581 ff. 15th century

Ff. 451a-69b Les tentations de lhomme en larticle de la mort et de linspiration du bon angele au contraire. *Incip.*: Combien que le philosophe ... *Explic.*: ... Jesus christ qui est beneis es siecles des siecles. This is one of the rare MSS of the QS in French.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁸ F. 216b. Part IV of the CP text in Latin. ¹⁰⁹ This text sounds like the QS.

¹¹⁰ This text may be that found in Xyl. X, XI, XII (Pt. III, "The Xylographic Editions").

¹¹¹ This date is mentioned by von Fallersleben, p. 142.

¹¹² MS 2840, ff. 255a-290a, is called in the *Catalogus* (II, 141) "Excerptum germanicum ex arte moriendi." The *Incipit* does not bear out this suggestion. (See von Fallersleben, p. 222).

¹¹³ *Tabulae codicum manu scriptorum*, II, 274.

¹¹⁴ But Xyl. IB and many typographic editions have French QS text.

Vienna—Library of the Scotch Benedictines

151 (52. d. 2)¹¹⁵ Pap. 8° 247 ff. 15th century

Ff. 155a-66b Prohemium de a.m. *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . .
Attributed in MS to Dominicus Capranica.

152 (52. d. 3) Pap. 8° 278 ff. 15th century

Ff. 246a-57a Incipit tractatus perutilis de arte moriendi. Cum de presentis. *Explic.*: In tuo conspectu gaudeat in eternum. Qui vivis. Explicit Tractatus de arte moriendi. Orate pro scriptore quamquam negligente et scribe nesciente.

175 (52. f. 24) Pap. and parchm. 8° 179 ff. 15th century

Ff. 137a-74b Incipit prohemium de arte moriendi in nomine sanctae et individuae trinitatis. Amen. Cum de presentis . . . *Explic.*: . . . mori discat. Et sic est finis huius tractatis. F. 79b Additamentum ad tractatum de arte moriendi.

327 (54. f. 10) Pap. 4° 71 ff. 1467, 1468

Ff. 1a-8a Tractatus de arte moriendi magistri de hassia.¹¹⁶ *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . . *Explic.*: Ad tuam eternam laudem. Amen.

Weimar—Landesbibliothek¹¹⁷

Oct. 60 (Erf. 1783—oct. 54) Parchm. 11 x 15 cm. 82 ff. 15th century

No. 960, f. 231, Liber de arte moriendi.

Wolfenbüttel—Herzog—August Bibliothek

LATIN

Helmst. 422¹¹⁸ Pap. 28½ x 21 cm. 167 ff. 1409

Ff. 142-48 De arte moriendi

Helmst. 808 Pap. 21 x 14½ cm. 299 ff. 1434 (on f. 255)

Ff. 256-62 Ars moriendi *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . .

¹¹⁵ Hübl, *Catalogus manu scriptorum qui in Bibliotheca Monasterii B.M.V. ad Scotos Vindobonae servantur*, p. 157.

¹¹⁶ Henry of Hassia is accredited with a "De quattuor novissimis" in two MSS listed in a late fifteenth-century catalog of the Dominican monastery in Vienna, G 14 and M 39. Both contain also the Latin CP, as does H 51, where it is to be found in company with Petrarch's "De remedio utriusque fortuna."

¹¹⁷ This MS belonged once to the monastery of St. Peter at Erfurt (see Theele, "Die Handschriften des Benedictinerklosters S. Petri zu Erfurt," Beiheft zum *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XLVIII, 191).

¹¹⁸ All the descriptions of Latin MSS in the Wolfenbüttel are taken from *Die HSS der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel*, edited by Otto von Heinemann.

Ff. 263-66 *Ars moriendi* *Inspirations angelorum complectens contra tentationes dyaboli. Incip.:* Quamvis secundum prohemium ethicarum . . .

23. 22 Aug. 4° Pap. 21 x 13½ cm. 329 ff. 15th century

Ff. 134-42 *Anonymi tractatus de arte bene moriendi* *Incip.:* Cum de presentis . . .

29. 7 Aug. 4° Pap. 20 x 14 cm. 192 ff. 1450, 1453, 1461

Ff. 86-95v *Liber de arte moriendi*, premisso prologo. *Explic.:* Finitum nec non complectum per me Didericum Horstmaire in Hildesheim anno Domini 1450, sexta feria ante dominicam Letare, etc.¹¹⁹

Ff. 99v-130 *Notabile compendii (sic) tractatus precedentis de arte bene moriendi.*

71.8 Aug. fol.° Pap. 29½ x 20½ cm. 213 ff. 1431, 1432

Ff. 157v-65v *Tractatus de arte moriendi* *Incip.:* Cum de presentis . . .

Helms 552 Pap. 21 x 14½ cm. 331 ff. 15th century

Ff. 234v-44 *Liber de arte moriendi cum prologo*

GERMAN

*Aug. 15.3.*¹²⁰ Pap. 21 x 16½ cm. 188 ff. 1497, 1503

Ff. 145-62 *Von der kunst wol zu sterben*

Aug. 86. 3 Pap. 26½ x 16 cm. 177 ff. 1472

Ff. ?-45 *Von sterbenden Mönschen*

LOW GERMAN¹²¹

Aug. 19. 26. 8 Pap. 20½ x 14 cm. 162 ff. 1487

Ff. 1a-28a *Hijr heft sik an eij cleine boek gehetē de vorsmak vnd vor kost des hēmelschen paradises also van deme lydende cristi vnde wo de mensche wol steruen moghe.*¹²²

Ff. 28a-82a *Hijr heft an de kunst wol to steruende. De vorrede. Hijr betenget eij bekelin genomet eyne kunst aller kunste . . . Explic.:*

¹¹⁹ Judging by a later signature Didericus was a Dominican.

¹²⁰ Dated 1497. Ff. 106-36 in the same MS, "Wie man das Creucz Christi kumen mag und das selb gaistlich sterben got zu ehren unnd her heligen Christennhait zu Hilf unnd zu Trost."

¹²¹ The notes on the Low German MSS are partly from von Heinemann's catalogue and partly from Borchling, ed., *Mittelniederdeutsche HSS in Wolfenbüttel*.

¹²² "De vorsmak unde vorkost hemelschen paradises" and "Lydende Cristi" often accompany the Low German *Ars moriendi*. The latter is found also in High German versions. I wonder whether it may not be Part IV of the CP.

Eyne korte nutte lere wo do wol schalt steruen
 Lere der gar wol so kanstu nūmer vorderuen
 Alle kunste wol gheweten ys to male nycht
 Sunder du hebbestu wol toe steruende myt aller vlide vorplicht
 Adel kunst herschop tijtlick ghud der werlde staet
 Helpet alto male nycht ys dȳ eynde quaet.¹²³

*Aug. 30.8*¹²⁴ Pap. 21 x 14 cm. 254 ff. 15th century (1435)

Ff. 227b-35b *Incip.*: dut is vō der kūst to steruēde. Na dem male dat van dusses ieghēwordighen elendes armode de gangk des dodes dor der vnuorvaringe vñ vnwettenheit to steruēde . . . *Explic.*: Ok wese io eȳ itslik syn eygen vrūt vñ be reyde sek na dusser . . . Explicit liber de arte moriendi compositus a reverendo viro magistro Tyderio Engelhus.

*Helmst. 422*¹²⁵ Pap. 28½ x 21 cm. 167 ff. 1409

Ff. 96- Ars Moriendi ("of Engelhusen") in Low German.

Helmst. 655 Pap. 21 x 15 cm. 275 ff. 15th and 16th centuries

Ff. 224-227 Over de Kunst tho stervende.

Helmst. 1067 Pap. 17 x 11 cm. 274 ff. 15th and 16th centuries

Ff. 147a-54b. 251a-67b. Eyn bok genomet eȳ kūst all' kūste alse wol to steruēde. De kūst mot eȳ iowelk mȳsche eȳs wol kūnē vñ nicht, etc. Ff. 175a-82b *Incip.*: To dē erstē is de leflike dod dat ald' greselikeste Dar bouē is d'sele dot dede vel greseliken . . . *Explic.*: . . . dar schal me dē krākē stede vā seggē, vñ tovorē vā dē lidende X¹.

Helmst. 1155 Pap. 15½ x 10½ cm. 484 ff. 1473

Ff. 148a-63b Wo seck eyn mynsche hebben schal in synē lesten tegen de bekorynghe Des bosen geystes. *Incip.*: Eyn clusenerȳne begonde to wetene den tal der wüden vnses heren ihu xpi, etc. Ends with prayers.

Helmst. 1189 Pap. 14½ x 10 cm. 207 ff. 1462

Ff. 35-64 Dyt boeck leret, wo men wol steruen kunne, wanner de doet komet, dat he den bereyt sy wylyclyken yn Gode tho sterne.

Ff. 124v-45 Wo men seker steruen kunne . . . Sunte Ancelmus, de dar was eyn erzebiscop to Kantellenberghe, de heft ghelaten in syner script . . . *Explic.*: Bedet vor den scriver.

Ff. 150a-70a *Incip.*: Dem mȳschen is nod vnde behoiff to siner salicheit dat he wol sterue . . .

Ff. 150-51v Wo sek eyn mynsche in syneme lesten ende hebben scal . . . yegen de bekoringe des vigendis van der helle . . .

¹²³ The *Incipit* suggests that this may be a real *Ars moriendi*, but the *Explicit* does not.

¹²⁴ See also Lübben in *Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung*, p. 72.

¹²⁵ There is also a Latin version in this MS (*supra*).

Helmst. 1229 Pap. $14\frac{1}{2}$ x 10 cm. 261 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 181a-92b *Incip.*: As in *Helmst. 1189*, f. 150a. *Explic.*: . . . vnde
 also heuestu de bekoringhe des ouelen gheistes al vorwunnen.

Helmst. 1251 Pap. $14\frac{1}{2}$ x $10\frac{1}{2}$ cm. 286 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 265-86 *Ars moriendi*, d.i., de kunst wol to steruende. *Explic.*:
 Sic est finis. Qui me scribebat, Bartramus nomen habebat.¹²⁶

Helmst. 1254 Pap. 14 x 10 cm. 290 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 272a-78b DEme māschē is nod vānd behof to syner salicheit dat he
 wal sterue . . . *Explic.*: . . . dat dat beholden blive an dyner sele.¹²⁷
 Through photostats I have found that the text of this MS is that of the
 second part of the CP but in very much shorter form. Whether it is a
 condensation of the CP or the CP a development of it I have no way of
 ascertaining.¹²⁸

Helmst. 1289 Pap. & parchm. 14 x 10 cm. 72 ff. 14th and 15th cen-
 turies
 Ff. 15v-55v Van der kunst wol to steruende. Na dem male dat von dus-
 semie ieghenwordigen elendes armode . . .

Helmst. 1308 Pap. 11 x $7\frac{1}{2}$ cm. 112 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 73b-109b *Incip.*: Nach deme male dat vā dussem iegēwardigē
 elendes armode De gank des dodes dor de vnvorwarynge vā v̄wettenheit to
 steruēde velē luden nicht allene den leygē sund' ok des geystlikē vā
 ynnigē gar varlik . . . *Explic.*: vā hebbe in dick dat vullē komelkē.
 Ff. 109-12b A few prayers for the sick. *Explic.*: Hir endick sick Dusse
 vergescreuē scolstu gerne vakē lestē uppe dattu id ichtē bet kunst in
 dynē lestē dar mede bekūmerē.

HOLLAND

Hague—Koninklijke Bibliotheek¹²⁹

75 E74 Pap. 277 x 205 mm. 66 ff. 1488
 Ff. 1r-66v *Ars moriendi*. *Incip.*: Stude sapientie fili mei exprobanti
 sermonem proverbiorum vicesimo septimo. Et quamvis sint Salominis
 ad litteram ad filium suum.¹³⁰ *Explic.*: Explicit ars moriendi anno 1488

¹²⁶ Followed by the recommendation of the three Paternosters, taken from the *exemplum* of the Pope and his chaplain.

¹²⁷ Followed by the *exemplum* of the three Paternosters.

¹²⁸ If it is a condensation of the CP, it is a much better one than is found in *Xyl. X*.

¹²⁹ *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae*, Vol. I, Libri Theologici, p. 149.

¹³⁰ I am not at all sure that this MS is of the *Ars moriendi* group.

in profesto Mathei apostoli et ewangeliste. In spite of the use of the title this is probably not an *Ars moriendi* at all.

Utrecht—Rijks-universiteit—Bibliotheek

58 (*Eccl. 388, antea 278s*)¹³¹ Parchm. 8° 97 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 24–52a *Tractatus de arte moriendi* *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . .
Explic.: . . . singulariter prodest quod huiusmodi verba dicantur ab infirmo, etc.¹³²

173 (*Eccl. 47, antea 286n*) Parchm. & pap. 230 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 114–21 *Tractatus de arte bene moriendi* *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . .
Explic.: . . . occupet mori discat.¹³³

379 (*Libr. imp. E. q. 208*) Pap. 4° 24 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 1–22 *Tractatus de arte moriendi* *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . .
Explic.: Explicit tractatus compendiosus de arte moriendi magistri Johannis Gerson. Qui fuit cancellarius.¹³⁴

SWITZERLAND

Basel—Bibliothek der Universität

A I 20¹³⁵ Pap. 28.8 x 20.8 cm. 232 ff. 1445
 Ff. 116r–25r *Prologus in libello de arte moriendi* *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . . *Explic.*: . . . sit locus et habitacio tua in iherusalem celesti per eundem dominum nostrum, Amen. Explicit liber de arte moriendi. Then follows the *exemplum* of the Pope and the Paternosters . . . mori discat.¹³⁶

A V 14 Pap. 29.3 x 20.3 cm. 179 ff. 1459
 Ff. 139v–46r *Incip.*: *Tractatus optimus de arte bene moriendi* Cum de presentis . . . *Explic.*: . . . sit locus tuus et habitacio tua in ierusalem, etc.

¹³¹ *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Bibliothecae Universitatis Rheno-Traiectinae*.

¹³² Ff. 1–20, St. Augustine's "Tractatus de visitatione infirmorum."

¹³³ This MS contains "St. Patrick's Purgatory," the "Vision of Tundale," and the "Cordiale." See MSS Berlin germ. oct. 664, Munich 458, Dresden 180.

¹³⁴ An obviously false attribution.

The "Liber de scire mori" of Utrecht MS 387, ff. 132–36, is Suso's chapter (Pt. I, "Literary Forerunners").

¹³⁵ *Die deutschen HSS der Öffentlichen Bibliothek der Universität Basel*, I, 4. For a short description of this MS see *Germania*, XXXII (1887), 72–77 (by Ferdinand Vetter).

¹³⁶ According to the title page, copied and owned by a Dominican named Albert Löffler.

A VIII 8 Pap. and parchm. 21.1 x 14.5 cm. iv+352 ff. First half of 15th century

Ff. 244v-62r De arte moriendi tractatus *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . . *Explic.*: . . . mori discat.¹³⁷

A X 119 Pap. 21.3 x 14.5 cm. 230 ff. 15th century

Ff. 151r-60r Incipit prohemium de arte moriendi . . . Cum de presentis . . . *Explic.*: . . . mori discat. Explicit tractatus de arte moriendi.

A X(131) 15 Pap. and parchm. 20.8 x 14.2 cm. 176 ff. 1454 and 1458

F. 84v. De temptationibus que contingent homini in morte

F. 86r. De sex interrogacionibus morituro faciendis.

F. 87r. Quomodo homo ad modum Christi crucifixi mori debeat.¹³⁸

Ff. 89v-95v Prologus in libellum de arte bene moriendi *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . . *Explic.*: . . . mori discat . . . Et sic est finis huius tractatus. Explicit tractatus de arte moriendi.

Engelberg—*Stiftsbibliothek*¹³⁹

Codex Chartaceus 435 (6/29) 12° 356 ff. 15th century

Ff. 18-30 *Incip.*: Cum de presentis exilii . . . *Explic.*: habitatio tua in Jherusalem coelesti. Per eundem dominum nostrum . . . Amen.

St. Gall—*Stiftsbibliothek*¹⁴⁰

LATIN

692 Pap. 4° 490 ff. 1466 & 1476

F. 429 *Incip.*: Cum omnium terribilium mors corporis sit terribilissima . . .¹⁴¹

714 Pap. 2° 412 ff. 1449-63

Ff. 214 A miscellanea theologica. The catalogue does not describe the MS of the *Ars moriendi*.

780 Pap. 4° 481 ff. 15th century

Ff. 432-59 Incipit tractatus de arte moriendi. Cum de presentis . . .

¹³⁷ This MS contains also Gerson's "De arte moriendi," St. Augustine's "De visitatione infirmorum," and the "Cordiale."

¹³⁸ This repeats most of the material of ff. 89v-95v. The MS contains several other pieces on dying, including John Nider's "Dispositorium moriendi."

¹³⁹ *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum qui asservantur in Bibliotheca Monasterii O.S.B. Engelbergensis*, followed by the *exemplum* of the Pope and the Paternosters.

¹⁴⁰ *Verzeichniss der HSS der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen*, p. 226.

¹⁴¹ This is evidently the same text that is to be found in MS Treves 781/821 and, according to this St. Gall catalog, in Giessen MS 771.

810 Pap. 2° 264 ff. 1441, 1453, 1471

Ff. 177-97 Incipit tractatus de arte moriendi. Cum de presentis . . .

917 Pap. 4° 326 ff. 15th century

F. 301 Incipit prologus in libelleum de arte moriendi. Cum de presentis . . . Explicit scriptus raptum per me fratrum gallum presbyterum.

918 Pap. 4° 730 ff. 1435

Ff. 254-76 Ars. moriendi

GERMAN

982 Pap. 2° 313 ff. 15th century

F. 309 A German Ars moriendi from the Latin of Dominicus Capranica.¹⁴²

985 Pap. 2° 507 ff. 1467

F. 9 Ars moriendi of Capranica (German)

Zürich—Zentralbibliothek

Car. C141¹⁴³ Pap. 20.8 x 14.8 cm. 1503

Ff. 62r-66v Ars moriendi *Incip.*: Quamvis secundum philosophum . . .

Explic.: . . . periclitantur. Huc effigies . . .¹⁴⁴

FRANCE

Ardèche—Dépôts d'Archives Départementales

No. 5(I.4)¹⁴⁵ Parchm. 250 x 190 mm. 158 ff. 16th century

Ff. 67v-69v La science de bien mourir. At end: Pena scriptoris prodetur gloria dei.

¹⁴² This is, of course, the CP version.

¹⁴³ Katalog der HSS der Zentralbibliothek Zürich, Mittelalterliche Handschriften, p. 126.

¹⁴⁴ The librarian at Zürich, Mr. W. L. Forres, tells me that the MS is not illustrated. He has kindly sent photostats of the pages of the MS following the *Ars moriendi*. These prove to contain the *De arte moriendi* of Gerson.

¹⁴⁵ Catalogue des manuscrits conservés dans les Dépôts d'Archives, etc., p. 15.

Boulogne-sur-mer—Bibliothèque Communale

97¹⁴⁶ (ancien no. 23 d'après Haenel)¹⁴⁷ Parchm. 225 x 70 mm. 77 ff. End of 15th or beginning of 16th century

Ff. 1-77 Artis bene moriendi perutilis tractatus feliciter incipit. Cum de presentis . . . fol. 41: . . . quod sine dubio salvabitur. The rest of the MS is taken up with allied works: "Carmen ad sanctum Michaelem," a "Meditatio de morte," another work of the same name, a "Speculum peccatorum," St. Bernard's "De contemptu mundi."¹⁴⁸ *Explic.*: . . . indulgence et remission, ta sainte grace et en la fin pardon et paradis. Amen. De arte bene vivendi beneque moriendi tractatus finit feliciter. *Miniatures:* F 1. Moriens with his family beside him. F. 42. St. Michael confounding Satan.¹⁴⁹

98 (ancien no. 134 d'après Haenel)¹⁵⁰ Parchm. 230 x 155 mm. 110 ff. 1454

Ff. 50-64 Incipit prohemium de arte moriendi. In nomine sancte et individue Trinitatis, cum de presentis . . . *Explic.*: . . . quod nobis concedat qui sine fine vivit et regnat. Explicit tractatus bonus et utilis de arte moriendi.

Cambray—Bibliothèque Municipale

276¹⁵¹ Parchm. 146 x 103 mm. 93 ff. 15 century

Ff. 1-26 Tractatus de arte bene moriendi. *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . . *Explic.*: . . . salubris efficacia aīque et corporis contra dyabolicus infestationes firmissima.¹⁵²

Dijon—Bibliothèque Municipale

1276¹⁵³ Pap. and parchm. 150 x 106 mm. 88 ff. 15th century

¹⁴⁶ Catalogue général des bibliothèques publiques de France, IV, 630-31.

¹⁴⁷ Haenel's catalog, 1830.

¹⁴⁸ For information on the Boulogne-sur-Mer I am greatly indebted to M. Pierre Héliot, conservateur.

The added contents in MS 97 are those which appear also in Latin typographic editions (see *GW* 2603, 2604, 2606-14). In the French editions there are added pieces, but these, strange to say, are different.

¹⁴⁹ M. Héliot says that the miniatures are of "ganto-brugeoise" school.

¹⁵⁰ See Haenel, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

¹⁵¹ Haenel's meager information on this MS has been fully supplemented for me by M. Paul Plantain, librarian.

¹⁵² There is, according to the Catalogue Dépôts d'Archives, a French MS (Gg) in Crépy-en-Valois, but M. N. Desaisy, secretary to the mayor, has been able to find no trace of it.

¹⁵³ Catalogue général, V, 305.

Ff. 63-83 *Tractatus de arte bene moriendi* *Incipit*: Cum de presentis . . . *Explic.*: Laus et hereditatio tua in celesti Jerusalem per dominum, etc.¹⁵⁴

Grenoble—Bibliothèque de la Ville

278¹⁵⁵ Pap. 204 x 145 mm. 118 ff. 16th century

F. 53 *Tractatus de arte moriendi* *Incipit*: Cum de presentis . . .

*Lille—Bibliothèque Municipale*¹⁵⁶

LATIN

81¹⁵⁷ Pap. 4° 210 x 140 mm. 81 ff. 1472, 1474, 1476

Ff. 74-79 *Incipit liber de scientia bene moriendi feliciter. Cum de presentis . . . Followed by the exemplum of the Pope and the three Paternosters.*

126 Pap. 131 x 100 mm. 106 ff. 16th century

Ff. 10v-36 *Profectus in librum de arte moriendi* *Incipit*: Cum de presentis . . . Followed by the exemplum of the Pope and the three Paternosters. *Explic.*: Explicit libellus de scientia moriendi complicatus [sic] a quodam fratre ordinis predicatorum.

FRENCH

127¹⁵⁸ Pap. Sm. fol. (293 x 200 mm.) 109 ff. 15th century

Ff. 1-34 *Traité de bien mourir* *Incipit*: Comme par le trespass de la mort en la misère de ce présent exil semble à plusiers et non point seulement aux gens lays, mais aussi aux religieux et devotes personnes estre trop difficile . . .¹⁵⁹ *Explic.*:¹⁶⁰ Cy fine le traictiet de bien morir translaté de latin en franc is que escripvist Jo. Francheville, fait l'an soixantequinze . . . abbe, en fait por maistre Mathieu de Cracovia, docteur en theologie.

¹⁵⁴ A French MS at Douai in 1830 (Haenel, p. 152) has disappeared, I am told by M. D. Oudot, librarian of the Bibliothèque Municipale.

¹⁵⁵ *Catalogue général*, VII, 120.

¹⁵⁶ *Catalogue descriptif des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Lille*, ed. by Le Glay, pp. 46-47, and *Catalogue général*, XXVI, 59.

¹⁵⁷ This may be 91 in Le Glay (*op. cit.*, pp. 53-54).

¹⁵⁸ *Catalogue général*, XXVI, 96, and Le Glay, *op. cit.*, p. 64, No. 106.

¹⁵⁹ This is a rare thing, a CP in French. Possibly this is the MS used by Caxton (Pt. III, "Editions Printed in England").

¹⁶⁰ Taken, like most of the *Incipit*, from Le Glay.

332 Pap. 4° (215 x 145 mm.) 227 ff. 15th century

Incipit: Cy-après s'ensuit ung livret extrait du traictié de l'art de mourir, très prouffitable à toute créature humain pour savoir les remèdes et vertuz servant à résister au deable, qui en la fin des joursn tempte la créature. Note in catalog says that this is a translation of a work attributed by some to Matthew of Cracow but by others to Dominicus Capranica, in other words, of the CP text, although the *Incipit* suggests the QS¹⁶¹

Lyons—Bibliothèque de la Ville

651^{162,163} (566) Pap. 270 x 198 mm. 243 ff. 15th century

Ff. 2-17 *Incipit*: Cum de presentis . . . *Explic.*: Ars bene moriendi.¹⁶⁴

Metz—Bibliothèque Municipale

152¹⁶⁵ Pap. 4° 15th century

Ff. 4-6 Modus bene moriendi. *Incipit*: Quamvis secundum philosophum . . .

F. 6 De arte bene moriendi libellus valde efficax *Incipit*:¹⁶⁶ Cum de presentis . . .

Paris—Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal

2117¹⁶⁷ 193 x 133 mm. 45 ff. 16th century

Ff. 1-19 Del'art et science de bien mourir. *Incipit*: Ce present livre est tres noble de l'art et science de bien mourir. Et y a cinq temptations diaboliques que l'ehnemye de nature humaine faict au malade, luy estant en l'article de sa mort. Et cinq consolations Angéliques que le juge faict andicht malade pour le conduyre et ramener au port de salut. Comme peult apparoir par les futures et par le rescript qui s'ensuit.

Cum omni terribilium mors corporis sit terribilissima omnesque mori

¹⁶¹ Haenel mentions a French MS at Lille with the title "La reine des sciences ou l'art de bien mourir" (*op. cit.*, p. 188, No. B.Q.8).

¹⁶² Catalogue général, XXX, 177.

¹⁶³ Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Lyon, I, 567.

¹⁶⁴ The MS contains also the "Cordiale" and the "Speculum peccatorum."

¹⁶⁵ Catalogue général, V, 67.

¹⁶⁶ The CP and QS texts are occasionally found in the same MS.

¹⁶⁷ Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.

tam ex debito . . . F. 4v: Selon la sentence du philosophe de toutes choses terribles c'est la mort et comme il soit tant de debte comme de droit natural . . . F. 17v: In manus tuas, Domine, commendo cum aliis orationibus presenti materie applicatis quae in tractatu artis moriendi continentur et inveniuntur. Amen. L'angoisse de la mort et citation devant Dieu. La fin et la conclusion de ce petit traicter de l'art de bien mourir est moult utile et proufittable. F. 18v: . . . en ce monde et en la fin conduyre a la gloire de paradis. Amen.

From what I have been of this text in photographs I conclude that it is a variation of the QS.¹⁶⁸ It is given in both Latin and French¹⁶⁹ This part of the MS is illustrated by eleven miniatures, copies of the block-book pictures, made by two hands, one more skillful than the other. The better artist was also the more independent; one notable change is the aged aspect of Moriens, who here appears with velvet cap and white beard, much as he does in the illustrations of the late Walasser version.¹⁷⁰ All the miniatures have scrolls with Latin inscriptions.

The MS contains a second *Ars moriendi*. Ff. 19-45: Cy aprés s'ensuit ung aultre livre de l'art de bien mourir en la grace de nostre createur et y a pareillement cinq temptacions et cinq consolations revenant au livre cy devant escript et es histoires. Et deux aultres histoires, l'une, de l'presentation de l'ame devant Dieu; et l'autre, du jugement de l'ame. Et l'a faict un vailant docteur a ma requeste. *Incip.*: Il n'est chose plus certaine que la mort . . . *Explic.*:

A vous servir et me doint patience
Charite, foy, esperance et science.

Although the five temptations are the usual five in their proper order, the text is evidently not close to that of the QS.¹⁷¹ There are miniatures on ff. 33v, 35, and 35v, the first two representing the soul at judgment, the last, three devils showing hell's mouth to a dying man.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁸ It is doubtless the text of MS Treves 781/821, which Dr. Knaus also finds a variation of the QS, and of MS St. Gall, 672, f. 492.

¹⁶⁹ The method was perhaps inspired by Guillaume Tardif's translation of the text used by Antoine Vérard and Caillaut in their printed editions. Tardif, however, gave only a sentence or two of the Latin; MS 2117 gives it all.

¹⁷⁰ There is no connection, though, between the miniatures and the Walasser cuts.

¹⁷¹ M. Jean Lailler, conservateur of the Arsenal, tells me that this text is unrelated also to what precedes. It is owing to M. Lailler and to the librarian, M. Chalot, that I have been able to investigate this MS.

¹⁷² The miniature on 35v is unrelated to the *Ars moriendi* designs.

Paris¹⁷³—Bibliothèque Nationale

LATIN

536¹⁷⁴ Pap. 45 ff. 15th centuryF. 25 Liber de arte moriendi magistri Mathei de Cracovia. *Incipit.*: Cum de presentis . . .¹⁷⁵Cod. 179¹⁷⁶ Liber de arte moriendi authore dominico et (Capranica)
1452

FRENCH

1746¹⁷⁷ 15th centuryFf. 144-98 L'art de bien mourir. *Incipit.*: Comme le passage de la misère de l'exil de ce siècle . . . *Explic.*: . . . ung seul Dieu par tous les siècles. Amen.*Rouen—Bibliothèque Publique*408¹⁷⁸ Pap. 208 x 145 mm. 89 ff. 1517Modus quomodo se homo debet preparare ad mortem. *Incipit.*: Cum de presentis . . . *Explic.*: . . . misericorditer prestare digneris qui vivis, etc . . . anno 1517.*Strasbourg—Bibliothèque Publique*

LATIN

72¹⁷⁹ Pap. 215 x 145 mm. 208 ff. 15th centuryFf. 2-14 De miseria mortis transitus quinque¹⁸⁰ particulae *Incipit.*: Cum de presentis . . .

¹⁷³ In the Paris libraries there are several MSS which probably bear some relation to the *Ars moriendi*: In the Arsenal a "Book of Death" (MS 2115, ff. 38-43), "Meditations sur la mort" (MS 2109, ff. 164-74), a seventeenth-century "Methode pour aider à bien mourir" (MS 2363, ff. 78-115); in the Carpentras Library, a "Miroir de la mort," with thirteen deathbed scenes from the end of the fifteenth century; in the Mazarine, a "Pulcherrima meditatio mortis" of 1516 (MS 995, ff. 100-106), followed in the MS by a fragment of a work called "Signa ex quibus homo potest confidere de salute morientis."

¹⁷⁴ *Nouvelles acquisitions du Département de Manuscrits* (1892), p. 8.

¹⁷⁵ In this MS here is also the *Opusculum* of Gerson.

¹⁷⁶ De Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum manuscriptorum nova*, II, 905.

¹⁷⁷ *Catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale*, Fonds français, I, 303.

¹⁷⁸ *Catalogue général*, I, 78. ¹⁷⁹ *Catalogue général*, XLVII, 51, No. 74.

¹⁸⁰ This is the CP text, if one is to judge by the *Incipit*. Perhaps the sixth part (the prayers) is omitted.

GERMAN

180. 8¹⁸¹ Pap. 200 x 135 mm. 327 ff. 1447

Ff. 162r-253r Dit ist von der kunst des wol sterbens, wie sich eyn mensche an symen lesten ende sulle halden und ist gar nutze beyde gelarten und ungelarten. *Incip.*: Want umme die sache das der ingang des todes . . . *Explic.*: . . . des menschen werke folgen eme noch. Amen. Deo gracias. Anno. dom. MCCCCXLVII achtage vor walporge.

565.2¹⁸² Pap. 30 x 20.8 cm. 225 ff. 15th century

Ff. 209v-24v Diss büchlin haist von der Kunst wol sterbens. *Incip.*: Sid des mals das des todes gang uss der jamerkait dises gegen würtigen ellendes wirt gesehen nicht allain dem layen . . . *Explic.*: . . . von ewen ze eween. Amen.

308¹⁸³ Pap. 290 x 210 mm. 39 ff. 15th century

F. 20 Ars moriendi Von der edelesten nuczperlichsten kunst dye gesein mag auch eynem yegligen cristen menschen wol nutturftig zu lernen sagt disz nachgeschriben puch oder tractat und dast wurt zu lateyn genemt Ars moriendi das ist von der kunst des sterbens *Incip.*: Als nu der gang des gegenwertigen lebens . . .

LOW GERMAN

206.4¹⁸⁴ Pap. 20.8 x 14 cm. 224 ff. 1473

Ff. 192-224 *Incip.*: In dit capittel staet waer dit boec van sprich. Dar omme dat van onweten . . . *Explic.*: . . . in marien allene. Deo gracias.

Troyes—Bibliothèque Municipale

1983¹⁸⁵ Pap. Sm. 8° 294 ff. 15th and 16th centuries

Liber de arte bene moriendi *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . .¹⁸⁶

¹⁸¹ See also *Katalog . . . die deutschen Handschriften der Kaiserlichen Universitäts und Landesbibliothek in Strassburg*, p. 60, ed. by Becker. This MS once belonged to the Benedictine Monastery at Erfurt. See "Die Handschriften des Benediktinerklosters S. Petri zu Erfurt," Leipzig, 1920, p. 181 (Beiheft zum *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, Vol. XLVIII). On f. 84v of the MS there is a statement: Und ist gegeben durch den andechtigen bruder Conrad von Bamberg zu sent peters closter zu Erfforthe sente Benedicti ordens nach synem atscheyde von dyser werlt.

¹⁸² *Catalogue général*, XLVII, 537, No. 2626. Also Becker, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

¹⁸³ *Catalogue général*, XLVII, 473. ¹⁸⁴ Becker, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

¹⁸⁵ *Catalogue général*, O.S., II, 814. MS contains also Nider's "Dispositorium moriendi."

¹⁸⁶ MS 1465 in Troyes contains a "Traictie de diverses tentacions," followed by a work called "Comment on doit mediter devant la separation de la mort pour es mouvoir son couraige à paour et pour avoir aucune aide par les Saius" (15th century).

Valenciennes—Bibliothèque Municipale

174¹⁸⁷-B.6.123 Pap. Sm. 4° 152 ff. 16th century

Ff. 79-113 *Libellus de arte et doctrina bene et faustiter moriendi* The catalog says that the work contains a prologue and six parts. This is plainly the CP text.¹⁸⁸

BELGIUM

Brussels—Bibliothèque Royale

LATIN

1637¹⁸⁹(4640-42) Pap. 135 x 97 mm. 191 ff. 16th century

Ff. 28-39 *Libellus de arte moriendi magistri Mathei de Cracovia sacre theologie professoris.*

2055 (43.85-86) Pap. 212 x 140 mm. 88 ff. 16th century

Ff. 41-58 (*Ars bene moriendi*) of Guigo, a Carthusian¹⁹⁰

2194 (2581-89) Parchm. 198 x 139 mm. 194 ff. 1449-51

Ff. 142-67 *Tractatus de arte bene moriendi* *Incipit:* Cum de presentis . . . Catalogue says among works doubtfully ascribed to Thomas à Kempis.

2237 Pap. 288 x 215 mm. 150 ff. 15th century

Ff. 104v-10v *Tractatus de arte moriendi* *Incipit:* Dum [sic!] de presentis . . .¹⁹¹

4847

Of the CP group¹⁹²

FRENCH

1640 (10180-93) Pap. 295 x 210 mm. 402 ff.+6 1465¹⁹³

Ff. 400-02 *La science de bien mourir.*

¹⁸⁷ Catalogue descriptif et raisonné des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Valenciennes, p. 161.

¹⁸⁸ Valenciennes MS 581, f. 92r, has a text beginning: Cy sensieult une moult belle exhortation enseignant comment chascun doit penser a la mort (15th century).

¹⁸⁹ Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, III, 51.

¹⁹⁰ I have not found this name elsewhere connected with the *Ars moriendi*.

¹⁹¹ MS contains also the "Vision of Tundale" and the "Speculum peccatorum agonizans," which latter may be Suso's chapter.

¹⁹² According to what is said of the text by Polain, Catalogue des livres imprimés au quinzième siècle des bibliothèques de Belgique, I, 629, No. 971.

¹⁹³ "Ex libris d'Albert et d'Isabelle," whose identity I do not know.

2323 Pap. 299 x 202 mm. 176 ff. 16th century
Lart de bien mourir

ITALY

Assisi—Biblioteca du Couvent de la Chiesa Nuova

Provençal MS, 283¹⁹⁴
F. 99 En quinha manera se deu hom efforzar de be a morir.

Bologna—Biblioteca Universitaria

241 (157)¹⁹⁵ Pap. 305 x 200 mm. 225 ff. 15th century
Ff. 110r-20r (Card. Domenico Capranica) *Incip.*: Qui comincia il
tractato de l'arte del soper morire.

Fano—Biblioteca Comunale Federiciana

22¹⁹⁶ Pap. 12 x 17 cm. 34 ff. (4 blank) 15th century
Trattato dell'arte del morire del Cardinale Domenico Capranica. *Incip.*:
Incomincia il proemio dell'arte del morire compilato et composto per lo
reverendo padre Monsignore il cardinale di Fermo. Anno dni 1452.
Explic.: Anno dni 1450 al tempo di Papa Nicolla: et laus deo.

Florence—Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale

II. II, 46¹⁹⁷ Pap. 4° 79 ff. 15th century
Ff. 68-76 Incomincia la terza parte¹⁹⁸ di questo tratade dell'arte del
ben morire per reverendo padre mons. Cardinale di Fermo, anno Dni.
1452.¹⁹⁹

II. IX, 134²⁰⁰ Pap. 8° 90 ff. 15th century
Ff. 63-87 Incomincia el prohemio del Tractato dell'arte del ben morire
facto et composto dal reverendissimo Monsignor Cardinale di Fermo,
chiamato messer Dominicho di Capranica. *Incip.*: Concio siu cosa
che per non supere assettarsi a morire seculorum. Amen. Followed by
the *exemplum* of the Pope and the three Paternosters.

¹⁹⁴ Brunel, *Bibliographie des manuscrits littéraires en ancien provençal*, p. 83.

¹⁹⁵ *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia*, ed. by Mazzatinti and others, XV,
150. ¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, 150-51. ¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, IX, 129.

¹⁹⁸ Part III of the text ascribed to Cardinal Capranica contains the interrogations.

¹⁹⁹ This is the date connected with Capranica, whatever the date of the MS.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, XII, 16.

*Florence—Biblioteca Palatina*²⁰¹*Cod. CCCIII. 578 Pap. 4° 38 ff. 15th century*

Trattato de bene moriendo. *Incip.*: Incomincia uno tractato de bene moriendo. Et in prima d'uno papa che venne ad morte, come que libberato da ogni peni per tre paternostri, etc. *Explic.*: Ultimamente legghisi innaazi allo inferno, con chiara voce, cose devote. Ed ecco un saggio di esso trattato.²⁰²

*Florence—Biblioteca Riccardiana*²⁰³*1461 (Part IV. 32) Pap. 140 x 100 mm. 80 ff. 1485*

Ff. 1-74 Arte del bien morire, scritto da Domenica Prete Cardinale Monsignor di Fermo, detto Monsignor di Capranica. *Incip.*: Concio sia cosa che per non sapere assectarsi a morire . . . *Explic.*: Finito è il libro chiamato *De arte bene moriendo*, composto dal Reverendissimo Monsignore di Fermo messer Domenico Prete Cardinale volgaramente chiamato Monsignor di Capranica, fatto negli anni de Signore MCCCCLII nella Citta di Roma, nel tempo di Niccola Papa nell' anno VI del suo Papato. Tradatto di Latino in Volgari a onore di Dio, e maggiore utili delle anime. Scritto per me ser Piero di Francesco Cappellano a Fagna: fornito a di XIII di Luglio MCCCCLXXXV ed e della venerabili dompna mona Nanna di Lotto Tanini alle orazioni della quale mi racomando.

Milan—Biblioteca Ambrosiana

According to Father Montfaucon,²⁰⁴ a manuscript of the “*De arte bene moriendo*” of “*Dominicus Fermanus*” in the Amrosian Library, but I can find no trace of it in a more modern catalog.²⁰⁵

Murano—San Michele (Camaldolite Abbey)

Father Mittarrelli reports, but does not describe, two manuscripts here, one in Latin, one in the vernacular.²⁰⁶

²⁰¹ *I manoscritti Palatini di Firenze . . .*, II, 29-30.

²⁰² This is the CP text. I have found no Italian MS with the QS, or no printed edition, either, except where it appears in conjunction with the CP, as in the Sessa of 1503 (Pt. III, “Editions Printed in Italy”).

²⁰³ See *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum qui in Bibliotheca Riccardiana Florientiae adservantur*, p. 48. Also Guichard, *op. cit.*, p. 298. Also *Manoscritti della R. Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze*, I, Pt. VI, 48o.

²⁰⁴ *Op. cit.*, I, 513 C.

²⁰⁵ Guichard says that Michel Catalani mentions a MS of the *Ars* in the Ambrosian Library—Lit. C. num. 81 (*op. cit.*, 298, N.5).

²⁰⁶ *Bibliotheca codicum manuscriptorum Monasterii S. Michaelis Venetiarum*, App., 30.

Poppi—Biblioteca Comunale

LATIN²⁰⁷

88 16° 15th century

Proemium de arte moriendi conditum per Reverendum dom dom Dominicum presbiterum Cardinalem Firmanum. *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . . *Explic.*: . . . mori discat.²⁰⁸

ITALIAN

56²⁰⁹ 8° 1478

Trattato del ben morire. Professor Triessi, librarian at Poppi, has given me full information about this manuscript. The text is a translation of the CP version, "not literal, but enlarged, and enriched with many prayers." The first chapter and part of the second are missing, but since the temptations do not appear in this manuscript until the third chapter, the most important sections are all present. *Incip.*: . . . che l'uomo giusto sara preoccupato che andra in rifrighorio cio e bene . . . *Explic.*: . . . si che viene a perfectione et cetera. Finito di scivere a die XII d'agosto 1478.

Subiaco—Biblioteca dell'Abbazia

275²¹⁰ Pap. 22 x 16 cm. 108 ff. 15th centuryFf. 81-101 Tractatus de arte bene moriendi.²¹¹

Torino—Biblioteca Nazionale

16741(L-IV-21)²¹² Parchm. 110 ff. 15th century

Traite abregie parlant de l'art scavoir bien mourir. Attributed by the catalog to Jean de Krikinbourg.

Vatican City—Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

10054²¹³ Pap.+3 parchm. 146 x 100 mm. 202 ff. 15th century

²⁰⁷ Mazzatinti, VI, 137.

²⁰⁸ Preceded by a manual for the use of those whose duty it is to assist the sick, beginning with interrogations.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 212.

²¹¹ Text is in bad condition at the end. It is followed by a "De instructione infirmorum in libris." In MS 197 there is also a "Modus disponendi se ad mortem," which sounds like Suso's chapter, and a "Vado mori," together with a "Libellus de arte bene moriendi" "per fr. Ioannem de Wism. de Reno 1445." *Ibid.*, I, 197.

²¹² *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 166.

²¹³ *Codices Vaticani Latini*.

Ff. 172-202 De arte moriendi *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . . *Explic.*: . . . mori discat.²¹⁴

10068²¹⁵ Pap. 207 x 140 mm. 11+313 ff. 1518²¹⁶

Ff. 301v-12 Matthaei de Cracovia (?) *Tractatulus de arte bene moriendi*. *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . . *Explic.*: . . . Des perennis vite peragat gaudia quod nobis concedat Iesus Christus Marie filius, qui cum Deo Patre, etc. *Explicit tractatulus de arte moriendi inscriptus 1418.*²¹⁷

Venice—Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana

*Cod. 36 (1. 152 L. III. XI)*²¹⁸ Pap. 227 ff. 1510

De arte bene moriendi Opus Dominici cardinalis de capranici.

Cod. 37 (LIII, CLXVI) N Parchm. 42 ff. 16th century

Ff. 1-18 *Opusculum de arte bene moriendi*, editum a quodam fratre cartusiensis But the author, according to the catalogue is Capranica.

Cod. 39 (LII. CX) Parchm. 135 ff. 1471

Ff. 118-35 *Liber expertus ab hominibus catholicis de devotis sanctae matris ecclesiae ex Xianae fidei de arte bene moriendi et de eius laude auctorem habet Dominicum Cardinalem Capranica.*

Verona—Biblioteca Comunale

1365²¹⁹ (1191-94) Imperfect Pap. 21 x 15 217 ff. 1473

Incomenza el libro chiamato Arte di bene morire. *Explic.*: Deo gratias. 1473.²²⁰

²¹⁴ A note appended to the "Auditorium monachali" which precedes the *Ars moriendi* in MS 10054 is evidently intended for the *Ars moriendi* itself, since it mentions the ascriptions to Capranica, Rolle, Nider, Gerson, and Albert the Great. ²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 454-5.

²¹⁶ In this MS are also the "Tractatus de arte moriendi" of Jacobus de Clusa (f. 221) and the "Spiritus Guidonis."

²¹⁷ The Right Reverend Monsignor Anselmo M. Albareda, m.b., preffetto, has told me that the date of the MS is 1518 instead of 1418, as the catalog states.

²¹⁸ *Bibliotheca manuscripta ad St. Marci Venetiarum*, II, 211.

²¹⁹ *Catalogo descrittivo dei manoscritti della Biblioteca Comunale di Verona*, p. 606.

²²⁰ A MS of the CP version in Latin was once owned by Prince Baldassarre Boncompagni. It was Cod. 288.4 in his collection, was folio in format, and went back to 1476. (See *Catalogo di manoscritti, ora posseduti da D. Baldassare Boncompagni*, p. 172).

SPAIN

Vich—Museo Episcopal

Gudiol, 127²²¹ Parchm. 24 cm. 24 ff. 15th century
Tractatus de arte bene moriendi²²²

ENGLAND

Cambridge—Magdalene College Library

F. 4. 13²²³ Vellum 7½ x 4½ in. ii+244 ff. 1518

Ff. 136b-38a De morte anime *Incipit*: Cum autem secundum philosophum tertio ethicorum omnium terribilium mors corporis est terribilissima morte tamen anime nullatenus est comparanda . . . *Explicit*: . . . moriturus inducatur adea [sic] que necessario ad salutem requiruntur.

I have examined the text with care and have found it to be made up of excerpts of both CP and QS, taken apparently with no plan in mind. The author gives emphasis to the need for resignation at death and the folly of late repentance, which latter point he elaborates a little beyond his source. The question whether this text might represent an intermediate stage between CP and QS I have weighed and dismissed.²²⁴

The MS, which is written in a clear and beautiful hand, was made apparently by (or for) Jasper Fyloll, a London Dominican then at Svon Monastery. On f. 1b there is a note: Jasper Fyloll of the blacke freers in London oweth this booke Yf it fortune at any tyme to be reklesly for-goten or loste he prayeth the fynder to bryng yt to hym agayn and he shal have iii s. iii d. for his labour and good thankes of the owner and goddis blesyng, etc.

²²¹ Grubbs, *A Supplement to the Manuscript Book Collections of Spain and Portugal*, Pt. V of *Union World Catalog of Manuscript Books*, p. 295.

²²² In the Biblioteca de El Escorial outside Madrid there is a fifteenth-century MS in Catalan with the title "Aquest tractat Deius escrit es en Quina Manera lo Diable tenta hom spiritual dels Peccato per co Quel pusque a le sua voluntat falsament tirar" (See *Catalogo de los manuscritos catalans, valencianos, gallegos y portugueses de la Biblioteca de El Escorial*, ed. by Cuevas, p. 59).

In a list of lost Catalan and Valencian MSS in the Escorial is 237, "Preparacion para bien morir" (in lemosen). See Cuevas, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

²²³ *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the College Library of Magdalene College, Cambridge*, p. 32.

²²⁴ The excerpts from the CP are choppy, as if they were picked up here and there in the original. The work is followed by Gerson's *De arte moriendi* in English, in which he is referred to as "sumtyme chaunceler of pares," a phrase suggesting none of the proximity to him that an early version would give.

Cambridge—University Library

Ff. V. 45²²⁵ Parchm. 4° 72 ff. Early 15th century

Ff. 24b-45 The crafte of deyinge. *Incip.*: For as moche as the passage of dethe oute of the wrecchednesse of the exile of this worlde... *Explic.*: ... so th^t thu have a blissid obite bi the which thou mayst at the last come to the place of immortalite and everlasting felicitye. Amen.

The MS, which I have seen in photograph, is in a fine hand. It contains also Suso's chapter in English and "A chapitle taken oute of a boke cleped Tour of alle Toures & it techeth a man for to dye."²²⁶ A modern hand ascribes the *Crafte of deyinge* to Rolle.²²⁷

Kk. I. 5 Pap. fol. 15th century

Ff. 84a-87 *Incip.*: Sen the passage of this vrechit warlde, the quhilk is called dede, semys harde, perelus... *Explic.*: ... as God grant ws al to do, for his mekill mercy. Amen.

The text, which has been edited by the Early English Text Society, No. 43, and also by R. Girvan for the Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh, 1939, series 3, No. 11, is probably the earliest extant piece of Scots literary prose.²²⁸ It is a very free treatment of the CP, written in the dialect of mid-fifteenth century²²⁹ Scotland. Some of the sections are omitted altogether; some are condensed; some, amplified.

The Scottish author omits the fifth and sixth chapters of the CP, perhaps because they are intended, not for the dying man, but for his friends. It would be unsafe to conclude, however, that the omissions are the result of any conscious unity of purpose in the Scot, since his lesson in the craft of dying elsewhere calls for the services of the faithful friend.²³⁰

²²⁵ *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library*, II, 501.

²²⁶ A translation of the death chapter in the *Somme le roi* (Pt. I, "Literary Forerunners").

²²⁷ The MS was owned by a John Whyte.

²²⁸ Preface to the Scottish Text Society ed., p. i.

²²⁹ The editor of the EETS edition places the *Crafte of Deyng* in the Scotch MS shortly after Wyntoun's "Cronykill": whereas the past participle in Wyntoun retains the Anglo-Saxon *d*, usually ending in *yd*, it has here become more exclusively Scotch *yt*.

The contents of the MS are numerous and on the whole secular, ranging from pieces of worldly wisdom like the "Dicta Salomonis" and the "Ratis Raving" to "Sir Lancelot of the Lak."

It may have been made in one of the Scottish houses of Dominicans (Pt. I, "The Question of Authorship").

²³⁰ As in the instructions following the Anselm Questions: "than byd hym be stark and sykir in that faith, and have hop of nan vthir thinge for temptacioune of the deuill: and gif thi synis be laid befor the by the angell, gud or Ill, say than, 'the passioune of crist I put be-tuex me and my synis, & betuex me and the eternall ded, the ded of crist.' "

In the Scottish text much of the matter of the CP is greatly condensed. The most interesting changes are the additions. In these the Scot sometimes seems merely eager to give moral instruction, even though it may be but loosely connected with the subject, as in TFa: The treuth is fundyt apoñe this that god wiche-saif to tak mankynd to Radeñ the trespass that adam and Eue commytyt in paradise quhar-throw al mankynde was smitit & nañ was worthy of his ofspryng to pay that ransoñe for the oreginall syne at thai ware fylt with, for god herys na synaris; and tharfor god throw his mekyll mersy, Send his anerly sone to be incarnat, sen nan was worthy þar-to bot he, for he was na synar, heirypoñe is fowndit al the faithe, the quhilk was confermit be sancte Iohne the baptyst and mony oþer prophetis or cryst was borne many a hunderd ȝher.

Occasionally his moral utterances take on a proverbial sound:

For ma deis of exces and mysgouernans in youthed than is slane in-to batell.

Ay þe bettyr man, ay þe mar lawly.

For swetnes is þe bettir knawing, at swetnes has ben befor taistyt.

And this is añe generall prouerb, that syne noyis nocth that is sufficiandly for-thocht.

In TVg he recognizes the horns of the despair-vainglory dilemma more clearly than his predecessors did: For to have pryd in his gud dedis is a temptacioñe callyt presumpcioñe; and dreid of the mercy of god [Is] For Ill dedis Is ane-vthir temptacioun callyt dyspar; and he that can weill eschef thir twa in the hour of ded, ourcumys the deuil for euir.

His full treatment of TAv, inasmuch as this subject is handled meagerly in the CP and briefly even in the QS, is surprising, but in its stress upon the danger to Moriens of attachment to material things, which, he says, are lent to man "bot For a tyme pleasand to god to tholl, or as an Instrument to vyne hymself to hevyne, as ane hamyr is ane instrument to mak a knyf wyth," is more satisfactory than the earlier versions. Overdevotion to wife and children is dangerous only because concern to leave them materially provided for might distract the dying man from the business of preparing his soul. To the Scot avarice is evidently one of the worst of sins, for he is bitter in his denunciation of those who practise it: sic folkis suld erar be callyt bestis vnracoñable than man reasonable; for bestis knawis na-thing bot erde and warldly thingis by the resone of the erde at thai ar maid off.

The Scotch writer seems to have had a strong personal love for Our Lord. Whereas in TImp the CP text makes no mention of the obvious and superlative example of His patience under suffering, and the QS satisfies itself with calling Him "patientissimun usque ad mortem," the Scot

tenderly paraphrases the prophet: . . . for he opnyt na mare his mouth na the lam̄ dois quhen his throt is wndyr the knyf. Also, he stresses more than the CP author does contrition that springs from love of God rather than from dread of pain.²³¹

Classical words are too few in this text to suggest that it came directly from the Latin.²³² A slight connection with Caxton's text of 1490 ought perhaps to be noted: The second sentence contains the substance of Caxton's first,²³³ although the thought therein expressed is to be found in no other version.²³⁴

Lincoln—Cathedral Chapter Library

210. B. 8²³⁵ Pap. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 6 in. 217 ff. 15th century

Ff. 41-47 Richard Rolle²³⁶ *Brevis tractatus de arte moriendi* *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . .²³⁷

London—British Museum

LATIN

Harl. 1197²³⁸ Pap. and parchm. 4° 385 ff.

Ff. 141-43b *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . . *Explic.*: Ut in pace sit locus tuus & habitas tua in iehrusalem celesti per eundem.

Harl. 2370²³⁹ Parchm. 134 ff. 15th century²⁴⁰

Ff. 1-39b *Libellus de arte moriendi* *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . . *Explic.*: Ut in pacesit locus tuus & habitas tua in iherusalem celesti. per eundem dominum nostrum iehesum christum . . . seculorum secula. Amen. *Explicit libellus de arte moriendi.*

²³¹ At this point there is a direction not exactly in accordance with Catholic practice, which puts the most serious effort of a penitent upon arousing sorrow in himself for offending God rather than upon recalling forgotten sins: "he suld pray mekil til god to gif hymne grace till haf knawleg of the synis that he haſſ forȝet."

²³² An occasional word like *fragelyte* is a strange neighbor to such Scotticisms as *mekyll* and *quher* and *wrenkis*.

²³³ The sentence in the Scottish text reads: It may awaill rycht mekile till have a gude ende, the quhilk makis all werk perfyte as the ewill ende wndois al gud werk before wrocht.

²³⁴ There is a "Tractatus de morte" in MS 24. Q. B. 7, Jesus College, Cambridge.

²³⁵ See Woolley, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library*, p. 149.

²³⁶ For the inaccuracy of this ascription see Part I, "The Question of Authorship."

²³⁷ The MS contains also St. Augustine's "De visitatione infirmorum."

²³⁸ *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, I, 595-6.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 671. My information on the Latin MSS in the British Museum has been kindly supplemented by Mr. C. E. Wright of the Department of Manuscripts.

²⁴⁰ The manuscript also contains a "Chronicon" from Adam to 1427, in the same hand as the *Ars moriendi*. This does not, of course, date the manuscript.

Reg. 8 BXVI²⁴¹ Vellum 8½ x 6½ in. 17 ff. 1493

Ff. 1-17 Perbreuis tractatus de arte moriendi *Incipit*: Cum de presentis . . . *Explic.*: Ut in pace sit locus eius . . . per eundem christum dominum. Followed by the *exemplum* of the three Paternosters.

On the first folio there is a mutilated note: Orate pro animis Johannis Balfour et Iohanne consortis sue. dedi istum librum . . . Iohanni . . . priori anno domini Mcccclxxxiii. The MS was later owned by Lord Lumley.

Add. 15,110²⁴² Pap. 21.8 x 15.4 (sm. 4°) 202 ff. Early 15th century
192-202 Libellus de arte moriendi *Incipit*: Preciosa in conspectu Domine sive De arte moriendi

Add. 20,029²⁴³ Vellum sm. 4° 15th century

Ff. 117-30 *Incipit*: Cum de presentis . . . *Explic.*: Ut in pace sit locus tuus & habitas tua in iehrusalem celesti per eundem.²⁴⁴

Add. 22,086 Vellum & pap. 12° 15th century

Ff. 15-42 *Incipit*: Quamvis secundum philosophum tertio ethicorum . . .

ENGLISH

Harl. 1706²⁴⁵ 215 ff

Ff. 25b-36b Richard Hampole's²⁴⁶ treatise of the *Craft of Dying* in Six Chapters.²⁴⁷

Reg. 17C XVIII²⁴⁸ Vellum 8½ x 6 in. 133 ff. 15th century²⁴⁹

Ff. 21-39 Here begynnyth the boke of the crafte of deynge. *Incipit*: For as moch as the passage of deth . . .

²⁴¹ There is also an "Oratio ad crucem in tempore pestilentiae." See "Introduction." *Catalogue of Western MSS in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, I, 226.

²⁴² *List of Additions to the Manuscripts*, 1850. Chiefly Priesch, *Deutsche HSS in England*, I, 320. Although the *Ars moriendi* is in Latin, most of the works in the MS are in Low German.

²⁴³ *List of Additions to the Manuscripts*, 1875-80, but *Incipit* and *Explicit* were supplied by Mr. Wright. On the first folio there appears the name "Esdras Bland." ²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁵ *Catalogue of the Harleian MSS*, II, 178-9. This MS is a sort of death anthology, although some of its contents are on other subjects, for instance, medicine. It contains pieces found in other English MSS, not only the *Crafte of Dyeng*, but Suso's chapter, the "Tower of All Towers," and "Treatise of Ghostly Battle."

²⁴⁶ Many of the pieces in this MS are attributed falsely to Rolle.

²⁴⁷ The catalogue gives no description of the MS.

²⁴⁸ *Catalogue of Western MSS in the old Royal and King's Collections*, II, 245.

²⁴⁹ This is the MS which Horstmann has edited. See "Introduction." On f. 106: "Wylam Harlowys anno 1553 Edmundo Roberto pertinebat."

*Add. 10,596*²⁵⁰ Parchm. 12° 15th century²⁵¹
A boke that is called the crafte of deyng.

LOW GERMAN

*Add. 25,904*²⁵² Pap. 14.1 x 10.7 211 ff. 1530²⁵³
Ff. 3a-22b *Incipit*: Hier beghint een tractaet van konē stervē. Want
die doot des lichaems bouen allen verueerliken dingen v'veerlixst is . . .
F. 22b, text breaks off with: dot ic dan moege gebrucken mittē gerechtigē
das ewegē lichtes eñ mittē guede die. Colophon states that the work was
written by Sr. Foelsken Hoeymans in the hospital in her eighty-first year.

CATALAN

*Harl. 3183*²⁵⁴ Parchm. 6 x 4 $\frac{3}{5}$ in. 212 ff.

Incipit: General confessio quascun an. QUASCUN fiz al Xpistiaden
segont la ordenansa apostolica . . . *Explic.*: Et fay nos participar en ta
gloria los tiens eternals gancx celestials. Amen.²⁵⁵

I have seen much of this MS in photograph and have found the text,
which is written in a beautiful hand, to be a fairly close translation of
the QS.²⁵⁶ There are three full-page miniatures, all in bad condition,
inserted to illustrate TDe, TVg, and TAv. The first two are based upon
the block-book pictures,²⁵⁷ but the third shows no one at the bedside of
Moriens except two devils, one tempting him with a small bag of treasure.²⁵⁸ In all three miniatures the evil spirits have scrolls but without
inscriptions.

London—Wellcome Historical Medical Museum

Vellum 16 x 12 in. 15th century

Ff. 29-32 An abbreviated version of the Latin CP with a full set of fine

²⁵⁰ *List of Additions to the Manuscripts*, 1843.

²⁵¹ MS contains also the "Treatise of Ghostly Battle."

²⁵² *List of Additions to the Manuscripts*, 1877. Also Priebsch, *op. cit.*, I, 320.

²⁵³ MS contains also the "Pistle of Holy Susanna."

²⁵⁴ *Catalogue of the Harleian MSS*, III, 8.

²⁵⁵ The *Incipit* and *Explicit* have been graciously supplied by Mr. T. C. Skeat of the Dept. of MSS.

²⁵⁶ Not the same translation into Catalan that is found in the printed editions. Pt. III, "Editions Printed in Spain."

²⁵⁷ In TVg the holy company in that background are omitted, perhaps because they seemed out of place in a temptation picture.

²⁵⁸ The text, however, makes full mention of the wife and children who, in the *Ars moriendi* illustrations, stand beside Moriens's bed. In the introduction to the Rylands facsimile of the *editio princeps* George Bullen states erroneously that Harl. 3183 is the only MS of the *Ars moriendi* with miniatures.

tinted outline drawings. I have discussed these under Xyl. X., to which they are related.²⁵⁹

Manchester—John Rylands Library

*Eng. 94*²⁶⁰ 365 x 236 mm. 168 ff. Early 15th century

Ff. 125v-37v The boke of the crafte of dyeing *Incip.*: For asmoche as the passage of dethe oute of the wretchednes of the exile of this worlde for unkynnyng of dyeing, not only to lewde men, but also to religious and devoute persones semeth wonderful harde and right parlous . . . *Explic.*: . . . and brynge the to thi dwellinge in hevinly and paradise everlastinge bi the meditacioun of our lorde ihesu criste, that is moste hyeste mediatour bi twix god and man. Amen.²⁶¹

Oxford—Bodleian Library

LATIN

*Add. A.268*²⁶² (formerly Miscellaneous 29387) Pap. & parchm. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 6 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. ii+164 ff. Early fifteenth century

Ff. 1-11 *Incip.*: Quamvis secundum philosophum . . .

*Bodl. 636*²⁶³ (formerly Miscellaneous 2002) Pap. & parchm. 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. ii+224 ff. 15th century²⁶⁴

Ff. 144-52 *Incip.*: Quamvis secundum philosophum . . .

*Canonici. 40*²⁶⁵ Pap. sm. 4° 80 ff. 15th century

Ff. 21-36 Tractatus de arte et disciplina moriendi cum prefatione.

Incip.: Cum de presentis . . . *Explic.*: Hec de arte moriendi dicta sufficiant; et sic est finis Deo semper gracias. Amen.

*Rawl. C. 662*²⁶⁶ Pap. & parchm. 4° 304 ff. 15th century

Ff. 297-304 Ars moriendi: in qua tractatur de quinque temptationibus diaboli de fide, de desperatione, de impatientia, de vana gloria, atque de avaritia, et de quinque, e contrario, bonis inspirationibus angelis.

²⁵⁹ The MS contains also several shorter works on death.

²⁶⁰ For all my information about this MS I am indebted to the kindness of the librarian, Mr. Henry Guppy.

²⁶¹ The MS contains the "Treatise of Ghostly Battle" and other devotional works.

²⁶² *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, ed. by Madan, V, 610.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, II (Pt. I), 154-5. ²⁶⁴ Some of the works in this MS are in English.

²⁶⁵ *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae, Pars III: Codices Graecos et Latinos Canonicianos*, p. 310.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pars V, pp. 336-7. The catalogue says: "Olim peculium Ric. May; postea Hannibalis gamon; qu., annon. denique inter codd. Fr. Pole, 1378?"

Incip.: Quamvis secundum philosophum . . . *Explic.*: . . . sepe instabiliter periclitantur.²⁶⁷

ENGLISH

*Douce 322*²⁶⁸ (21896) Parchm. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{7}{8}$ in. i+102 ff. 15th century
With some small miniatures, illuminated capitals and borders.

Ff. 26b-39 The boke of crafte of dying. *Incip.*: Forasmuche as the passage of dethe owte of the wretchednes of the evyle of thys worlde . . .
Chapt. I.: Though bodyly dethe be most dredefull of all ferefull thynges as the phylosopher sayeth in the thryd boke ethyk . . .²⁶⁹

*Rawl. C. 894*²⁷⁰ Parchm. 4° viii+106 ff. 15th century
Ff. 18b-33 The boke of Crafte of dying *Incip.*: Forasmuch as þe passage of deth . . . *Chapt. I.*: Thouȝe bodyly deth be most dredfull of all ferefull þingis . . . The last chapter of the six contains ten prayers "to be seid vpon hem þat bene a dying of som man þat is abowt him."

*Bodl. 423*²⁷¹ (2322. 495) Parchm. & pap. $11\frac{1}{8} \times 8\frac{3}{8}$ in. i+416 ff.
15th century

Ff. 228-41 The boke of the craft of dyeng, or *De arte moriendi*.
Incip. (Prol.) Forasmuche as the passage of deeth . . . *Incip.* (text):
Though bodily dethe²⁷²

Oxford—Corpus Christi College Library

²⁶⁷ In the first four folios of this MS there are short verses in Latin on various religious subjects. At the end of the section:

"Oldman wytles, yongman dredles, woman shameles,
Hyt were better they all three were lyflees. quod Payne."

The *Incipit* and *Explicit* of the *Ars moriendi* were kindly given me by Mr. W. O. Hassall.

²⁶⁸ This is the MS which Miss Comper modernized (See "Introduction." See Madan, *op. cit.*, II, Pt. I).

²⁶⁹ The MS contains also Suso's chapter in English and the "Tower of All Towers" (Pt. I, "Literary Forerunners"), also "a short warning to worldly folke in verse to lern to dye."

²⁷⁰ Pt. V of the Bodleian Catalog, p. 465.

²⁷¹ Madan, *op. cit.*, II, Pt. I, 300. Miss Comper says that this is apparently the earliest of three English MSS in the Bodleian. She adds that it is written in a clear, careful hand, probably of the mid-fifteenth century.

²⁷² The MS contains also the "Poor Caitif," attributed to Wyclif, and the "Pricke of Conscience."

LATIN

226²⁷³ Pap. sm. 4° 142 ff. 15th century

Ff. 73-84 De arte moriendi liber, sex particulis *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . .

ENGLISH

220²⁷⁴ Parchm. sm. 4° 62 ff. 15th century

Ff. 24b-42 The boke of the crafte of deyinge *Incip.* (Prol.): For als moch as the passage of deth . . . *Incip.* (Chapt. I): Though bodily deth be most dredefull . . .

Oxford—Magdalen College Library

72²⁷⁵ Parchm. 4° 176 ff. 15th century²⁷⁶

Ff. 127b-40 *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . . *Explic.*: Explicit tractatus de arte moriendi²⁷⁷

Oxford—Merton College Library

204²⁷⁸ Parchm. fol.° (large) 209 ff. 1446-1460

Ff. 197-203 Liber de arte moriendi *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . .

Explic.: In calce, Explicit liber de arte moriendi.²⁷⁹

Oxford—New College Library

304²⁸⁰ Parchm. fol.° 271 ff. 1468-69

Ff. 265-304 Tractatus de arte moriendi *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . .

Explic.: In calce Explicit tractatus cuiusdam devoti, qui intitulatur, De arte moriendi, utilis valde omnibus agonizantibus et in extremis laborantibus pro exhortacione et consolacione eorum.

²⁷³ *Codicum MSS qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensis hodie adservantur*, Ed. by Coxe, II, 91. ²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

²⁷⁵ Coxe, *op. cit.*, II, 42. Miss Comper speaks of the beauty of this MS (*Book of the Craft of Dying*, 49).

²⁷⁶ On f. 6, "This boke was appertainyng to Marye Dennis, some tymes Ladie Abbesse of a certen nunnery in Gloucestershyre. She dyed in Bristowe 1593, a good olde maide verie vertuse and godlye and is buried in the churche of the fauntes ane the grene." Heincken speaks of this MS. (*Idée générale d'une collection complète d'estampes*, p. 427.)

²⁷⁷ Followed by the *exemplum* of the Pope and the Paternosters.

²⁷⁸ Coxe, *op. cit.*, I, 79, and *The Medieval Books of Merton College*, ed. by Powicke, p. 244. Powicke gives this MS as 1253.

²⁷⁹ Last thirty folios contain nine items mainly on the art of dying. These include the *exemplum* of the Pope and the Paternosters, Suso's chapter, and a "Meditacio mortis."

²⁸⁰ Coxe, *op. cit.*, II, 109.

Oxford—University College Library

53²⁸¹ Pap. 4° 224 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 422–35 *Libellus de arte bene moriendi secundum tentationes diaboli et, e contra, inspirationes Angeli ordinatus. Incip.: Quamvis secundum philosophum . . . Explic.:*

Explicit ars moriendi,
 Qui gerit normam vivendi,
 Quisque videat et legat,
 Ut in fine sic se regat.

Chacun corps humain fait de terre
 Tendant a mort et porriture;
 Nuyt et jour ne cesse de guerre
 Retour a sa prime nature.²⁸²

EIRE

Dublin—Library of Trinity College

64r²⁸³ Parchm. sm. 4° 15th century
 Ars moriendi²⁸⁴

UNITED STATES

Cambridge—Harvard College Library

Riant 8o²⁸⁵ Pap. 31 x 21 cm. 287 ff. 15th century
 Ff. 146v–53v *Ars moriendi Incip.: Cum de presentis . . . Explic.:*
 . . . mors occupat mori discat.²⁸⁶

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, I, 16.

²⁸² Followed by a decretum of the Council of Basel, dated June 17, 1439.

Archbishop Ussher's *Ars moriendi* is, he said, by a certain Carthusian and is probably the work found in several German MSS. See Ussher's *De Christianarum Ecclesiarum in Occidentis*, VII, 99.

²⁸³ *A Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin*, p. 106.

²⁸⁴ The MS was written for the most part by Thomas White, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, in 1442.

²⁸⁵ Ricci, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, I, 1007. Mrs. William B. Allen of the Treasure Room at Harvard has given me additional information about this MS.

²⁸⁶ The MS, written in Germany, was given by Hilprandus Brandenburg de Biberach to the Carthusians at Buxheim.

*Ithaca—Cornell University Library**B.15 (A 51220)²⁸⁷* Pap. 20 x 15 cm. 239 ff. 1448Ff. 61r-82v *Ars moriendi* *Incip.*: Incipit tractatus de arte moriendi.
Cum de presentis . . .*B.65²⁸⁸* Pap. 29 x 30 cm. 137 ff. 1453, 1466²⁸⁹Ff. 126r-36r *Ars moriendi* *Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . . *Explic.*: . . .
mori discat.²⁹⁰*New York—Library of Mr. Curt F. Bühler*Vellum 5½ x 4 in. *posi* 1486²⁹¹*Incip.*: Cum de presentis . . . *Explic.*: Wanting.*New York—Pierpont Morgan Library**Germ. M 782* Pap. 10½ x 7½ in. 309 ff. Augsburg, ca. 1450-1460Ff. 119-33 *Kunst zu sterben* *Incip.*: Wie der Mensch sol lernen sterben und sich bereiten zu dem Tod. *Explic.*: Das sich der mensch also zu dem tod schick in maus als hie vor geschrieben stett ob er wol und sicher sterben soll.

Only one of the 232 pen and ink drawings, tinted with watercolor, which illustrate this MS belongs to the *Ars moriendi*. This is a small death-bed picture the single striking feature of which is that Moriens is a woman. The scribe, Volckhardus Landsperger von Kaufbeuren, has signed his name at the end of each work in the MS.²⁹² He was an Augsburg scribe mentioned in records of 1455-62. The MS belonged formerly to Prince Ottingen-Wallerstein (of Maihingen).

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 1228. Ricci's information on the Cornell MSS has been kindly supplemented of Mr. E. R. B. Willis, associate librarian, and Professor Harry Caplan.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 1241.

²⁸⁹ Also from the Buxheim Carthusians.

²⁹⁰ Belonged to monastery of Sancta Maria in Münster, near Schwabenberg, Lippe.

²⁹¹ The MS contains the "Speculum de confessione" of Antonius de Butrio and other works. It is very probably copied from a printed edition (GW 5829, 5830. See Mr. Bühler's article "An Unusual Fifteenth-century Manuscript," *La Bibliofilia*, Florence, 1940).

²⁹² He was an Augsburg scribe mentioned in records of 1455-62. See Ricci, *op. cit.*, II, 2318-19.

The manuscript contains also works in German on the seven deadly sins and Alexander the Great, together with the "Speculum humane salvationis" in German.

Notre Dame—Library of the University of Notre Dame

3²⁹³ Pap. 29 x 21 cm. 280 ff. 15th century (Germany or Austria) Ff. 250r-60r²⁹⁴ De arte moriendi *Incipit*: Cum de presentis . . . *Explic.*: . . . ita anime moriencium miserabiliter periclitantur. Followed by sixteen paragraphs of prayers. F. 260r . . . a quo nos custodiat qui sine fine vabit et regnat Jhesu Christus, filius Dei et Mariae et virginis, filius qui est benedictus in secula seculorum. Amen. Deo gracias et sic est finis huius tractatuli de arte moriendi compositi egregii viri magistri Nicolay de Dinkchelpuechel.²⁹⁵

Washington—Library of Holy Name College

43²⁹⁶ Pap. 21 x 15 cm. 1455 (Germany) Dominicus Capranica De arte moriendi *Incipit*: Cum de presentis . . . *Explic.*: . . . mori discat. Explicit. Followed by a treatise on the pains of hell, but not the one in the Quentell editions made at Cologne.

F. 42 is missing. A note in the MS says that without doubt it came from the Carthusian monastery at Buxheim near Memmingen.²⁹⁷ In the fifteenth century it belonged to Johann Glauburg of Leichenstein.²⁹⁸

²⁹³ Ricci, *op. cit.*, I, 714. I have received added information on this MS from Mr. Paul R. Byrne, Notre Dame librarian, notably the *Incipit* and full *Explicit*.

²⁹⁴ Ricci says 217r-36r. Mr. Byrne has corrected his error for me.

²⁹⁵ Other MSS besides this are falsely attributed to Nikolaus, e.g. Munich MSS 18365, 18639, 18276. Nikolaus Dinkelsbühl possibly wrote, just as Gerson and Nider did, a work on the sacrament of penance and one on the ten commandments, a fact to which the false attribution of the *Ars moriendi* might perhaps be traced (Cod. Vaticanus Latinus 10068).

²⁹⁶ Ricci, *op. cit.*, I, 477. I have examined this MS carefully, the librarian, Reverend Father Mark Kennedy, O.S.F., having graciously permitted me to do so.

²⁹⁷ Cf. Harvard MS Riant 8o, N. 5, and Cornell MS B. 15, No. 7.

²⁹⁸ There is a MS of the *Ars moriendi* at McGill, the property of Mr. John Travers Lewis of Montreal. Mr. E. R. Lomer, university librarian, has told me that there are ten leaves in the MS, with text 3½ x 6 in., and that the *Incipit* is "Incipit tractatus de arte moriendi." See Ricci, *op. cit.*, II, 2232.

PART III

THE EDITIONS OF THE ARS MORIENDI

XYLOGRAPHIC EDITIONS

BLOCK BOOKS.—A block book is one in which both illustrations and letterpress have been printed entirely from wood blocks.¹ Regarding the history of this xylographic method, as it is called, an unbelievable amount has been written, chiefly controversial.² The little that is actually known about the block books can be stated in a few sentences:

1. They are completely a German or Dutch product.³
2. The extant copies force the conclusion that block cutting of texts did not antedate 1460,⁴ although wood-block pictures were printed as early as the first years of the fifteenth century⁵ and were made into picture books before 1440.⁶
3. Xylography, far from being a mere step in the development of printing from movable type, was carried on side by side with it as an

¹ Writers on the xylographic process usually distinguish three types of book which employed it: *xylographic*, in which text and pictures were both made from wood blocks; *xylo-chiographic*, with block pictures, but MS text; *xylo-typographic*, with block pictures, but typographic text. Strictly speaking, only the first were block books. Schreiber, in his classification of the xylographic editions of the *Ars moriendi*, includes all three types.

² "If there is any pet, particular, and guaranteed trouble maker in the world of prints and books," says Mr. Ivins, "it is the block book, for as nothing else it makes men dogmatic, imaginative, and quarrelsome" (see Ivins, *BMMA*, XVIII [1923], 230).

³ See Fuhrmann, "The Invention of Printing," in *A History of the Printed Book* (Vol. III of the *Dolphin*, pp. 35-36). The Netherlands was the chief center of production of the most important block books (Hind, *An Introduction to a History of Woodcut*, I, 215). France scarcely enters the field (*ibid.*), although Mâle suggests a possible French origin for the *Ars moriendi* cuts (*op. cit.*, p. 381). He believes further that the origin of wood cutting is not German, but French (*L'Art allemand et l'art français*, pp. 209-18). Italy made only one important block book, the *Passion* (Hind, *op. cit.*, I, 215).

⁴ Fuhrmann, *op. cit.*, p. 36. See also McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography*, p. 267. Bliss makes the *terminus a quo* 1450 (*A History of Wood Engraving*, p. 17). But Mr. Ivins regards attempts to date the block books as altogether futile.

⁵ Hind, *op. cit.*, I, 96. Cust says that 1418 is the date assigned to the cut of the Blessed Virgin with female saints now in the Print Room of the Royal Library at Brussels, but the dating is not positively authentic. A picture of St. Christopher pasted in a MS in the Rylands Library in Manchester bears the date 1423, the earliest undisputed date on a woodcut (*The Master E.S. and the Ars moriendi*, p. 2). ⁶ Hind, *op. cit.*, Vol. I.

independent craft.⁷ Dr. Lehmann-Haupt tells me that because the Church felt obliged in the fifteenth century to supply a wholesome popular literature for a changing common people there were bred, almost simultaneously, three new media: the cheap manuscript written in imitation of the beautiful work of the earlier centuries,⁸ the block book, and the typographic book. Of these the block book was intended primarily for the semi-literate stratum, to whom the pictures were enlightening even when the text was not.⁹ The xylographic method had also an economic advantage. Since the same blocks could be used many times, reprints were readily made; hence xylography flourished until the last quarter of the century, when the substitution of copper engraving and a growing demand for a more serious literature with greater emphasis on the text drove it from the field.¹⁰

4. Each cut was intended to be colored by hand with a stencil made from another copy of the same cut.¹¹

Block books of the Ars moriendi.—The block books of the *Ars moriendi* are of more than ordinary interest and, although rare, are well worth an effort to see them at first hand or in one of the several excellent facsimile editions generally accessible in libraries of any size or distinction.

Evidently in greater circulation in its own day than other famous block books,¹² the *Ars moriendi* is known in twenty-one printings made

⁷ Fuhrmann remarks that McMurtrie's *Golden Book* was the first historical account written in America to state clearly that the block books were not forerunners, but rather competitors, of typography, "the two arts developing almost simultaneously though along independent lines" (*op. cit.*, p. 35).

⁸ A manuscript owned by Curt F. Bühler containing the *Ars moriendi* in Latin is very probably copied from an edition made in Louvain, ca. 1480 (GW 5829, 5830. And Pt. III, "Editions Printed in Holland." Also Pt. II, "Manuscripts [U.S.A.]").

⁹ The *Biblia pauperum*, with its abundant pictures and meager text, illustrates this purpose. The *Ars moriendi* block books are less perfect an example, for they devote a little more than half their space to text and announce specifically that they are intended for both literate and illiterate.

¹⁰ Fuhrmann, *op. cit.*, p. 36. Block books occasionally appeared in the sixteenth century; one was made in Rome in 1548 (Bliss, *op. cit.*, p. 17).

¹¹ This discovery was made recently in the New York Library, when some of these stencils were discovered under the cover of a 1519 edition of Erasmus's *Enchiridion*. See *BNYPL*, Jan., 1938, pp. 10-18.

¹² Schreiber enumerates thirty-three works which were printed xylographically. Of these the most famous, besides the *Ars moriendi*, are the *Biblia pauperum* (generally conceded to be the earliest), the *Canticum canticorum*, the *Speculum humane salvationis* (both su-

from thirteen distinct sets of blocks. Of nearly three hundred extant copies of block books sixty-one are of the *Ars moriendi*.¹³ Its popularity was due not only to the beautiful cuts with their absorbing story but also to the text, which offered to those who could read it complete directions for meeting the gravest crisis of their lives.

The Ars moriendi woodcuts.—Even a purely literary discussion of the *Ars moriendi* can hardly avoid some discussion of the eleven famous cuts, so important are they in the classification of the xylographic editions, so frequently found in the typographic,¹⁴ and so at one with the text in its purpose.

Long before the fifteenth century the Church had emphasized the value of pictures in implanting truths in the unlettered mind. Gregory the Great¹⁵ and Walafrid Strabo¹⁶ had both written of it. During the late Middle Ages, however, those charged with the care of souls were even more aware of it, as the abundance of all kinds of pictorial religious matter shows. Blessed Henry Suso suggests that pictures might most faithfully interpret his own writings.¹⁷ Geiler von Kaysersberg, renowned pulpit orator,¹⁸ calls pictures "die Schriften und Bücher der gemeinen Laien, in denen sie den Glauben sollen lernen."¹⁹ Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa, when he made an episcopal visitation to a region peopled with unlearned folk, ordered that text and pictorial representation of the ten commandments be made accessible to them.²⁰

The devil's activities at the bedside of a dying Christian had some-
perior to the *Biblia* in design and in cutting), and the *Apocalypse*. There are copies of all these books in the Morgan Library.

¹³ Schreiber, *Manuel*, Vol. IV; and Pollard, *Fine Books*, p. 30. The *Ars moriendi* and the *Biblia pauperum* were the first block books to attract attention in the nineteenth century (*ibid.*).

¹⁴ Twenty-three of the sixty-six typographic editions listed in the *Gesamtkatalog* are illustrated, and so are most of those published after 1500.

¹⁵ See St. Gregory's letters, Bk. IX, No. 52, *PL*, LXXVII, 990-91, and Bk. XI, No. 13, *ibid.*, pp. 1128-30. In the last, addressed to Serenus, Bishop of Marseilles, he warns also against the abuse of religious pictures.

¹⁶ *De rebus ecclesiasticis*, ch. viii: "De imaginibus et picturis," *PL*, CXIV, 927-30.

¹⁷ Lehmann-Haupt, "Book Illustration in Augsburg in the Fifteenth Century," *BMMA*, IV (1932), 15.

This faith in the graphic may be the reason for Henry's use of the spectacle of unprepared death to teach the art of dying (Pt. I, "Literary Forerunners").

¹⁸ Pt. IV, "Contemporary Books in German."

¹⁹ Janssen, *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*, I, 47.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

times been pictured before the *Ars moriendi* cuts were made. The subject is carved on an early Saxon stone preserved in the library of York Minster,²¹ and it appears in a twelfth-century porch in Moissac, although here Moriens is not just any man, but a rich and wicked one.²² The motif is repeated also in a twelfth-century miniature in the *Hortus deliciarum*²³ and in a thirteenth-century fresco executed by Giunta in the church in Assisi.²⁴ But until the appearance of the *Ars moriendi* pictures there was never a series of deathbed scenes with a sort of story, or at least connected action, running through them.

Temptation against faith.—In this, as in the other ten pictures, the emaciated figure of Moriens lies in a bed near the foreground. In the background, whispering into his ear, is a devil, who points at three men, presumably doctors, and displays a scroll with the words: “Infernus factus est.”²⁵ In the foreground a second devil, whose scroll reads “Fac sicut pagani,” points to a pagan king and queen kneeling in worship before an idol. A third devil with a third scroll (“Interficias te ipsum”) points to a man in the foreground in the act of cutting his own throat. Beside this figure is that of a woman, naked except for a loin cloth, in one hand a bunch of rods, in the other a scourge. A fourth devil holds a sheet in such a way as to cut off from Moriens the vision of God the Father, Our Lord, and Our Lady standing behind his bed.

Inspiration to faith.—At the left of the bed an angel displays a scroll with the words “Sis firmus in fide.” At his feet three discomfited devils writhe and say, “Fugiamus, victi sumus” and “Frustra laboravimus.” In the background a troop of the blessed, with God the Father, Our Lord, Our Lady, and Moses in the front rank, has come to console Moriens.

Temptation to despair.—The bed is surrounded by devils and those whom Moriens has wronged. “Perjurus est,” says one fiend, pointing to the man against whom Moriens has committed perjury; “Fornicatus est,” says another, designating the woman whom he has be-

²¹ Wall, *Devils*, p. 81.

²² Levron, *Le Diable dans l'art*, p. 68.

²³ *Ibid.* (In the facsimile of the MS, made by Society for the Preservation of the Historical Monuments of Alsace, f. 123, Pl. xxxiii). ²⁴ Wall, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

²⁵ Weigel (*op. cit.*, II, 9) says that this may be meant for “Infernus fractus est,” but Bullen thinks little of the proposal (*op. cit.*, p. 9), and suggests that what was intended was “Infirmus factus est” (*ibid.*).

trayed. Others accuse him: "Occidisti" and "Avare vixisti," the first for the victim of a stab wound, the second for a beggar seated in his rags beside the bed and for a naked man whom he might have clothed. In the background a devil says, "Ecce peccata tua," and holds up a placard on which are written his sins.

Inspiration against despair.—With the angel who is consoling Moriens with the words "Nequaquam desperes" are the saints who have best known the mercy of God—St. Mary Magdalene with her spikenard of precious ointment,²⁶ St. Peter with the cock that was the symbol of his fall and the key that showed how completely he was forgiven; Dismas, the good thief tied to his cross; St. Paul hurled from his horse on the road to Damascus. One devil is retreating under the bed; the other says, "Victoria michi nulla."

Temptation to impatience.—Only one devil is tempting Moriens in this picture, but he is succeeding very well; and his "Quam bene decepi eum" suggests that he realizes his success. Moriens, having overturned the bedside table and with it a bowl, a glass, and a spoon, is now kicking the doctor, who is retreating in alarm.²⁷ The wife of the sick man extends her hand to him compassionately and says, "Ecce quantum penam patitur." In the foreground stands a maid holding in one hand a glass and in the other a plate upon which is the leg of a fowl.²⁸

Inspiration to patience.—Moriens has overcome impatience, inspired by the angel and by those holy ones who have suffered most—St. Stephen in the habit of a monk, with his stones in his scapular; St. Barbara with her tower; St. Katherine of Alexandria with her wheel; St. Lawrence with the gridiron on which he was roasted; and especially Our Lord, with head thorn-crowned and in His hands the scourges. Beside Him stands the Eternal Father. One devil disappears under the bed, saying, "Sum captivatus"; another, crushed

²⁶ In a cut of a *Beichtafel* of 1481 the figures of Sts. Mary Magdalene, Matthew, Dismas, and Paul, together with Zacheus, are appearing to a man for his encouragement as he is confessing his sins (Geffcken, *op. cit.*, p. 119). All these penitents are mentioned in the CP text as examples of those whom God forgave grievous sins.

²⁷ Weitenkampf speaks of this figure as that of a "young person, leaving the room in ladylike disdain" (*The Illustrated Book*, p. 68).

²⁸ To his reproduction of this cut (from an edition by Vérard) Mâle has given the caption "Le Moribond chasse ses héritiers" (*L'Art religieux*, p. 385).

by defeat, says, "Labores amisi." In this picture, as in no other except the last, the hands of Moriens are clasped in prayer.

Temptation against vainglory.—Five horrible devils are tempting Moriens to pride in his success against the first three temptations. They are offering him three crowns and filling his mind with vainglorious thoughts: "Gloriare," they say, and "Tu es firmus in fide," "Coronam meruisti," "In pacienza perseverasti," "Exaltate ipsum." In the background stand the Eternal Father, Our Lord, and, in the attitude of prayer, Our Lady, two indistinguishable other saints, and three small children²⁹—supposedly a hallucination of the devils to make Moriens believe that he belongs by merit in this holy company.

Inspiration against vainglory.—In each of the three preceding "inspiration" pictures there is one angel; here there are three. The most prominent one says, "Superbos punio," pointing at hell-mouth,³⁰ in which three souls are writhing in torture, one a tonsured monk.³¹ "Sis humilis" is upon the scroll borne by another of the angels, and above, in the clouds, the Trinity and Our Lady appear. At the left foot of the bed stands St. Anthony, the hermit, model of humility,³² with bell and crozier. In the foreground a crouching demon cries, "Victus sum."

Temptation to avarice.—One demon points to the wife, the children, and the friends of Moriens, standing at the right of his bed ("Provideas amicis"); two others to his possessions—his house with its well-stocked wine cellar and his horse, being led by the groom into the stable ("Intendo thesauro"). In some of the xylographic editions, notably the *editio princeps*,³³ a servant is making more poignant the sick man's concern over his goods by stealing wine from one of the casks.

Inspiration against avarice.—"Non sis avarus," says the first good

²⁹ Who might be the Holy Innocents, to whom the fifteenth century had special devotion. The churchyard named for them in Paris might, moreover, suggest them for inclusion in any book on death (see Huizinga, *op. cit.*, p. 133).

³⁰ Mâle calls it "la gueule de Leviathan" (*L'Art religieux*, p. 387). The hell-mouth appears in other incunabula: Schramm in *Der Bilderschmuck der Frühdrucke*, reproduces two, one from the *Belyal* (Magdeburg, Moritz Brandis, 1492) in which the hell-mouth is peopled only by fantastic devils (Schramm, XII, 63); the other from *Büch der kunnst dar durch der weltlich mensch mag gëystlich werden* (Augsburg, Bämler, 1477) (Schramm, III, 77).

³¹ The text of both versions makes it clear that the temptation to vainglory finds its victims chiefly among religious men.

³² Both texts give an example of St. Anthony's humility. From the *Crafte of Dyeng*, *YW*, II, 912. ³³ The first xylographic edition.

angel; "Ne intendas amicis," says the second, spreading a sheet before a man and woman, presumably the son and daughter of Moriens, so that he may not be distressed at the sight of them. At the right of the bed is a group of three women and two men, probably friends and relatives, together with a few sheep, which may represent his possessions. But closer to Moriens is the figure of Christ upon the Cross, with His Mother sorrowing beside Him, to remind the sick man of the extreme detachment from earthly things with which He approached His death. A fat little devil at the foot of the bed says, "Quid faciam?"

The death of Moriens.—In this scene, the only one in which Moriens is at the left,³⁴ the soul, in the form of a small child,³⁵ is passing from his body to one of the group of four angels behind the bed. A monk holds a candle in the hand of the dying man. On the left side stands a crucifix between two groups of saints, Our Lady, St. Mary Magdalene, and St. Peter (here distinguished by a sword) foremost in one group, St. John in the other. At the right of the bed six demons are departing in fury. "Confusi sumus," they say. "Heu insania," "Furore consumor," "Animam amisimus," "Spes nobis nulla."

It is not hard to understand why the *Ars moriendi* cuts attained such popularity. Over and above the genuine artistic value ordinarily found in them, especially in what are regarded as the earliest editions,³⁶ and their captivating simplicity, they manage to make the deathbed struggle very real and very human³⁷—with the devils monstrous enough, but too vivacious to be repulsive. Following the Scriptural³⁸ and patristic³⁹ tradition which gave to Satan and his

³⁴ Schmarsow suggests that the change in position here is symbolic of the change in Moriens: then his fate was in the balance; now he is victorious. But Dr. Lehrs thinks that the idea involved smacks too much of lecture-platform wisdom and doubts that the author of any fifteenth-century *Volksbuch* would have bothered the simple lay intelligence with it (*Repertorium für Kunsthistorische Wissenschaft*, XXII, 467–68).

³⁵ The soul in the form of a little child was common in fourteenth-century MSS (see Geffcken, *op. cit.*, I, 15, and Pl. XII).

³⁶ Judged by the illustrations of the *Biblia pauperum*, the *Canticum canticorum*, and other block books, the *Ars moriendi* woodcuts are superior to most made in the fifteenth century. Delen says, "le grand chef-d'œuvre de la xylographie flamande est, sans contredit, le merveilleux *Ars moriendi*" (*Histoire du livre et de l'imprimerie en Belgique*, II, 61).

³⁷ Champion sees something similar to this realistic treatment of death in François Villon's *Testament*, pp. 313–28 (*Histoire poétique du quinzième siècle*, II, 129).

³⁸ Peter I, 5: 8; Apoc. 12: 9.

³⁹ See, for example, St. Augustine, *Liber soliloquiorum animae ad Deum*, PL, XL, 877,

followers the characterization of ravenous or venomous beasts, the illustrators have exercised a great deal of ingenuity and variety in fastening upon the active, eager little figures in the deathbed scenes the features of lion and dragon and wolf and serpent.⁴⁰ In the angels there is remarkable grace and beauty, especially in the arrangement of drapery. Moriens himself is interesting not only because of his emaciation and his obvious distress under the devil's attack but also because in the entire eleven cuts there is nothing monotonous—the variety extending to the unfortunate man's hair⁴¹ and the head of his bed⁴² and the facial expressions of those around him.

The *Ars moriendi* woodcuts were used in one or two other books. In an edition of Jean Bouchet's "Les Regnards traversans les perilleuses voyes des folles fiances du monde," made by Michel le Noir at Paris in 1504, the cuts for TDe and Dth are reproduced.⁴³ And Wynkyn de Worde, who, like most early printers, was fond of using in his books (whether suitably or not) cuts from this or that current work, put several from the *Ars moriendi* into Hawes's *Pastyme of Pleasure*.⁴⁴

Other books contain pictures probably influenced by it, some quite obviously (for example, the scene in Hermann Nitzschewitz's *Zinna Psalter*)⁴⁵ and that in the German *Cordiale*, both very like the Death of Moriens, except for the absence of the devils. And close to the TImp cut is the picture of the impatient sick man in the *Narrenschiff*,⁴⁶

and St. Gregory, *Dialogorum*, *PL*, LXXVII, 257. In St. Athanasius's famous life of Anthony the Hermit the saint is pictured as seeing demons come in the likeness of beasts and creeping things (*Vitae Patrum*, *PL*, Vol. LXXIII, col. 132).

⁴⁰ In a BN MS containing a history of the Holy Grail, there presides at a council of devils convened to arrange the birth of Merlin a triple-headed monster with stag's horns on each of his heads, and with bear's feet, and over his body horrible faces to signify an endless vigilance over the deeds of men (Reproduced in Wall, *op. cit.*, p. 27). In literature also beast representation of the devil is frequent: Caesarius of Heisterbach describes crows and vultures coming to torture the dying (see English translation of the *Dialogus miraculorum* by Scott and Bland, II, 251-52, 272); in "Death," a thirteenth century poem in EETS, 49, OS, 183, the devil is a basilisk turning his mortal glance upon Moriens; and there are other examples in such works as the *Prick of Conscience* (ll. 2216 ff.), the *Festiall* of John Myrc (EETS, 96, ES, 238), and the *Vision of Tundale* (ll. 1256 ff.).

⁴¹ Could this variety in Moriens be intended to suggest that he is Anyman?

⁴² In some of the later printed editions the feeling for variety is even more marked, for example, the *Spiegel der Seelen*, the Lyons edition of 1495, and the Florentine edition of 1513 (*Infra*). ⁴³ Heinecken, *op. cit.*, pp. 427-28.

⁴⁴ Hodnett, *English Woodcuts, 1480-1535*, p. 24.

⁴⁵ Zinna, not after 1496, f. 112 r. There is a copy in the Morgan Library.

⁴⁶ Ed. Basel, 1494. Sebastian Brandt translated into German the *Hortulus anime*, which contains the *Ars moriendi*. Pt. III, "Editions Printed in Germany."

kicking over the table by his bed while his wife and the physician stand by in helpless amazement.⁴⁷ Another related cut is repeated four times in the morality play⁴⁸ *Buchel von dem aygen Gericht des sterbenden Menschen* (Munich, 1510).⁴⁹

The Master ES.—It was Dr. Max Lehrs of the Royal Museum at Dresden, a most learned authority on the line engravings of Germany and the Netherlands, who in 1888 advanced the theory that the wood-cuts in most xylographic editions of the *Ars moriendi* derive ultimately from a series of small line engravings made by the "Master ES,"⁵⁰ according to Mr. Ivins, "the greatest artist of all the German engravers working prior to 1470 and by far the most prolific."⁵¹ ES seems to have lived in the Upper Rhine district—probably near Freiburg i.B.⁵²—around 1455.⁵³

⁴⁷ Max Lehrs remarks that the cuts bear relation to two in *Äsop* (1485 ed.) and *Mirabilia urbis Romae* (ca. 1475 ed.), respectively (*Geschichte und kritischer Katalog des deutschen, niederländischen und fränzosischen Kupferstichs im XV. Jahrhundert*, II, 254). More remotely allied to the *Ars moriendi* is a subject, one of the most popular in religious iconography of the Middle Ages, the struggle of angel and demon for the soul of a dying man. This was common in the MSS (see Brown, *Register*, I, 268, for English examples, and Mâle, *L'Art religieux*, p. 388n, for French, especially French *Horae*). Sometimes it appeared in the borders of the *Horae*, in the *Vigiliae mortuorum* section (see *A Descriptive Catalogue of the MSS in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, Cambridge, pp. 168, 291). Berlin MS German 19, fol. 216v, has a bold and somewhat crude pen-and-ink drawing of this subject. In the incunabula it was also common. Schreiber describes such a cut in the "Klage des sterbender Mensch" (Augsburg, 1496), Hodnett mentions one in the English St. Catharine of Siena series published by Wynkyn de Worde (*op. cit.*, No. 866), and Leslie Frost reproduces a tiny one in his anthology *Come Christmas*, p. 335. The *Ars moriendi* cuts do not appear on the walls of churches and refectories in convents (Falk, *Centralblatt*, VII, 309n), as undoubtedly they would have done if they originated before the invention of printing (Mâle, *L'Art religieux*, p. 388). Nevertheless, a kindred picture is to be found in a carving on the vitrail in the Musée Saint-Jean, d'Angers (*ibid.*, p. 388n; reproduced in Levron, *op. cit.*, p. 70), and another in a stained glass window in the great Malvern Priory Church in Worcestershire (Rushforth, *Medieval Christian Imagery*, p. 308).

⁴⁸ Somehow the early printers loved to repeat their favorite cuts, often three or four times in the same book.

⁴⁹ Pt. IV, "Later Catholic Books in German."

⁵⁰ *Reperitorium für Kunsthissenschaft*, XI (1888), 52. Also "Der Künstler der *Ars moriendi* und die wahre erste Ausgabe derselben," *Jahrbuch der Königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XI (1890), 161–68. Dr. Lehrs has discussed the Master ES more recently in Vol. II of his great *Geschichte und kritischer Katalog*.

⁵¹ *Prints and Books*, p. 180. See Max Geisberg's fine reproductions of many of the Master ES's 317 known plates in *Die Kupferstiche des Meisters E.S.*

⁵² Cust, *op. cit.*, p. 7. Wurzbach has identified him with Erwein von Stege. *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, XIX (1884), 124–28.

⁵³ Schreiber, *Manuel*, IV, 255. Hind, however, says that the early work of ES may be considerably earlier than 1450 (*op. cit.*, I, 230), and that both Lehrs and Geisberg date it ca. 1440 or even before (*ibid.*, note 1). Lehrs says that his earliest work may fall into the first half of the 15th century (*Geschichte und kritischer Katalog*, II, 3). But since really nothing

The eleven line engravings on the *Ars moriendi* subjects are separate pictures, ninety millimeters by sixty. The only complete set is in the Douce collection in the university galleries at Oxford.⁵⁴ Max Geisberg⁵⁵ and Lionel Cust⁵⁶ have reproduced them—the latter, for purposes of comparison, with reproductions of the cuts of the famous *Ars moriendi* xylographic *editio princeps*, which, as Dr. Lehrs has shown, were made from them.⁵⁷

Dr. Lehrs attributes the engravings to ES chiefly because of characteristics in them which his other pictures consistently show—draughtsmanship remarkable in his period, constructive skill, and a charm that is the result of a beautiful arrangement of draperies and a generosity with ornamental detail. In spite of lack of mastery over perspective and some poor proportion in the thin, angular figures, there is about the work a “certain pleasingness in the whole effect”⁵⁸ not difficult to recognize. Dr. Lehrs believes that ES is the originator not only of the engravings at Oxford but also of the *Ars moriendi* designs.⁵⁹

The engravings were twice copied, freely and roughly, once in re-
is certain about ES, all attempts to date him, to place him geographically, to identify him are pure speculation.

⁵⁴ There are also single leaves in London, Berlin, and the Wolfegg Castle, Waldsee, South Bavaria (Falk, *Die deutschen Sterbebüchlein*, p. 6).

⁵⁵ *Die Kupferstiche des Meisters E.S.*, pp. 131-33. ⁵⁶ *Op. cit.*

⁵⁷ Passavant, Dutuit, and Willshire all supposed that ES based his engravings on the cuts of the *editio princeps*. Evidence to the contrary is found in the fact that weaknesses in the engravings are corrected in the block books: a useless row of buttons in TFa is given buttonholes; a cock in an impossible position on the head of the bed in IDE is given a place for his feet; and faulty perspective is improved. It is not at all likely that the xylographer, a greater artist than ES, would introduce such errors and inconsistencies (see Cust, *op. cit.*, p. 14, and Lehrs, *Repertorium für Kunsthistorische Klasse der Königl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, XXII [1899], 458-71). Delen believes that the engraver (who he thinks was too crude to be ES) and the xylographer worked independently of each other after different models (*op. cit.*, II, 64). Hind reproduces the TImp engraving and the TImp cut to show the similarity (*op. cit.*, I, 228-29).

⁵⁸ Cust, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

⁵⁹ In his several conclusions Dr. Lehrs has met much opposition, especially from August Schmarsow (“Ist der Bildercyclus *Ars moriendi* deutschen oder niederländischen Ursprungs?” *Repertorium für Kunsthistorische Klasse der Königl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, XXIII [1900], 123-42, and *Berichte der philologisch historischen Klasse der Königl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, Feb. 4, 1899), who speaks for Roger van der Weyden or one of his school. H. Thode, finding in the engravings nothing Netherlandish, attributes them to Hans Pleydenwurff of Nuremberg (*Repertorium für Kunsthistorische Klasse der Königl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, XXII [1899], 364-70). Dr. Lehrs has summarized the whole controversy (*Geschichte und kritischer Katalog*, II 360). He says that Ludwig Kaemmerer, while agreeing with him on the authorship of the engravings, is of the opinion that they derive from an earlier MS. I have supposed that such might be the MS in the Wellcome Historical Museum in London.

verse and once in conformity to the original. Formerly both sets of copies were ascribed to "Master of St. Erasmus," known as a silver engraver, but recently Lehrs has seen in them the work of two different engravers—the second dependent upon the first. To one, because of floral designs in other engravings made by the same hand, he has given the name "Der Meister mit den Blumenrahmen",⁶⁰ to the other, "Der Meister des Dutuitschen Ölbergs," from a design by him of Our Lord on the Mount of Olives in the collection of Eugene Dutuit.⁶¹ Both these artists copied the Master of St. Erasmus.⁶²

"Der Meister mit den Blumenrahmen" has corrected the errors of ES⁶³ and has omitted most of the hatchings. A set of his engravings, eight of the eleven, colored by hand, was acquired by the British Museum in 1845. Lionel Cust has reproduced them, together with those of ES and the cuts of the EP.⁶⁴ There is another complete set in the Vienna Hofbibliothek,⁶⁵ with a MS text in German.⁶⁶

The only extant copy of the designs of "Der Meister des Dutuitschen Ölbergs" is in Cologne;⁶⁷ it is accompanied by a MS text in Latin. The engravings are based on those of the Vienna series by "Der Meister mit den Blumenrahmen."⁶⁸

The engravings of ES were copied again by an "M.Z.",⁶⁹ in conform-

⁶⁰ *Geschichte und kritischer Katalog*, III, 141. Lehrs corrects himself for having called him in an earlier work the "Master of St. Erasmus."

⁶¹ Lehrs proposed this title to Max Geisberg, through it to erect a small monument to Dutuit for his work as collector and scholar. *Ibid.*, III, 282.

⁶² It was Max Geisberg, not Lehrs, who first saw that all the 400 engravings ascribed to the Master of Saint Erasmus had not been made by him, and divided them among four different cutters, to the fourth of whom he gave the name "Der Meister der Marter der Zehntausend" (*Die Anfänge des deutschen Kupferstiches und der Meister E.S.*, pp. 119 ff.).

⁶³ He solves the problem of the missing buttonholes by omitting the buttons, makes the rooster comfortable, and corrects some, but not all, of the faulty perspective. See *supra*, "The Illustrations." ⁶⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 31-35.

⁶⁵ Falk says that there is another complete copy in Cologne, but evidently he is referring to the "Olbergs" copy. He makes no mention of the example in the British Museum (*Die deutschen Sterbebüchlein*, p. 6).

⁶⁶ Schreiber says that all the three series of engravings were accompanied by texts, "comme le prouvent les exemplaires conservés," and he implies that the text is the QS (*Manuel*, IV, 254). The engravings of ES, however, have no text of any kind, although his series on the Passion was used with one (Hind, *op. cit.*, I, 213). The BM copy of the "Blumenrahmen" shows at the stitching traces of a Flemish or Netherlandish text, too faded to be legible (Lehrs, *Geschichte und kritischer Katalog*, III, 231). ⁶⁷ Köln Städtarchiv.

⁶⁸ Max Geisberg first saw this relationship. (Lehrs, *Geschichte und kritischer Katalog*, III, 341).

⁶⁹ Identified as Mathias Zasinger, Mathias Zink, Mathias Zündt (the last two are evidently the same engraver. Lehrs, *Geschichte und kritischer Katalog*, II, 248). Cust says that

ity with the originals and with all the errors retained. This series was used by Peter König in an *Ars moriendi* with German text made at Munich in 1623.⁷⁰ Lehrs says that the first two pictures are in another hand and are not copied from ES.⁷¹ The Rosenthal sales catalogue of 1882⁷² reproduces the TFA engraving.

Lehrs gives the location of all the extant copies of engravings based on ES's *Ars moriendi*, even single sheets.⁷³

THE CLASSIFICATION OF WILHELM SCHREIBER

The first attempt to classify the xylographic editions of the *Ars moriendi* was made in 1771 by Karl Heinecken;⁷⁴ the second by the English bookseller Samuel Leigh Sotheby in 1858.⁷⁵ Sotheby disagreed with Heinecken's conclusions regarding the order of the editions and substituted a chronology of his own, little more accurate. Then in 1911 came the great classification of Wilhelm Schreiber, settling the question perhaps once and for all.⁷⁶ Sotheby reproduces cuts from several editions; Schreiber from all of them.

The *editio princeps*.—Schreiber accepted the statement made by Weigel a half-century before that a small folio book owned by Weigel himself,⁷⁷ later sold to the British Museum,⁷⁸ was the first xylographic edition. The EP, as it will be called hereafter in this study, is generally believed to be Netherlandish in origin,⁷⁹ but as to the year in which

the copies were made in the late sixteenth century and therefore could not be the work of Martin Zasinger (*op. cit.*, p. 12). Lehrs says that the engravings are not skillful enough for Mathias Zündt (*Geschichte und kritischer Katalog*, II, 248).

⁷⁰ The title is "Letzter Kampf dess Menschē dass ist ein kurtzer Begriff der Furnembsten verschuchungen, mit welchē der Laydige Sathā des Sterbenden Menschē gemainiglich anfächten thuet," etc. ⁷¹ *Geschichte und kritischer Katalog*, II, 249.

⁷² Catalogue 90, No. 166, p. 43.

⁷³ *Geschichte und kritischer Katalog*, II, 247 ff.; III, 223 ff. and 337 ff.

⁷⁴ *Op. cit.*, 399 ff. Before Heinecken the *Bibliothèque curieuse* of one Clement (Göttingen, 1751, II, 143) described three editions of the *Ars moriendi*. Clement says that the books are illustrated and conjectures hesitantly that the first of them might have been one of the first printings of Caxton, but none of his information would lead to a definite identification of the three editions, except the last, which was evidently made by Weyssenberger at Nuremberg. ⁷⁵ *Principia typographia*, I, 69-76; II, 10-37.

⁷⁶ *Manuel de l'amateur de la gravure sur bois et sur métal au xve siècle*, IV, 257.

⁷⁷ *Op. cit.*, II, 6, No. 233.

⁷⁸ For £1,072, 10s., the highest price paid by the museum for any xylographic or printed book. Of its previous history all that is known is that Weigel bought it from a private dealer for a moderate sum (Cust, *op. cit.*, p. 13). For prices of rare books see Sander, *Prices of Incunabula*.

⁷⁹ Delen says Netherlandish and quotes Courboin as saying Netherlandish (*op. cit.*, II,

it originated the critics are in disagreement. Schreiber says 1465;⁸⁰ Cust, 1440 or 1451;⁸¹ Hind, around 1450 and "not much later because of the still strong influence of Van Eyck";⁸² Delen, not after 1430-40.⁸³

The text of the EP, each page of which is vis-à-vis and to the right of the accompanying cut, is the Latin QS. The cuts are an almost exact reproduction of the line engravings of the Master ES,⁸⁴ changed only in size (they are larger), the insertion of scrolls with a Latin text, the correction of certain errors in perspective (for example, the head of the bed in TImp), and the addition of a few details (for example, a boy drawing wine from one of Moriens's wine casks in TAv).

Besides the British Museum copy there is a second incomplete one, known as the Earl of Pembroke's copy,⁸⁵ which is in the Huntington Library.⁸⁶

Three facsimiles have been made of the EP—the first by Weigel, Leipzig, 1869; the second by W. H. Rylands in 1881; the third by Lionel Cust.

Other editions.—Schreiber found that including the blocks from which the EP was made, thirteen different sets were used in printing the twenty-one different xylographic editions of the *Ars moriendi*—sixteen with xylographic text, three with manuscript text, two with typographic text. Arthur Hind, who has written more recently and with greater fullness regarding the woodcut, has accepted his classification for the most part and has made a useful summary of it.⁸⁷ My tabulation is composed of the findings of these two scholars and my own minor observations, especially on the subject of Schreiber's Xyl. X.⁸⁸

Xyl. I-IX, inclusive, and Xyl. XIII have the QS text; Xyl. X—XII have a form of the CP text. Except where otherwise stated,

⁸⁵ Mâle, of course, says French (*L'Art religieux*, p. 381). Hind says South Netherlandish (*op. cit.*, p. 227). ⁸⁰ *Manuel* IV, 257. ⁸¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

⁸² *Op. cit.*, I, 227. ⁸³ *Op. cit.*, II, 63.

⁸⁴ Schreiber thinks that it was ES who copied his own designs on the blocks (*Manuel*, IV, 256). Paul Kristeller believes that they were made by a member of the school of Roger van der Weyden (quoted by Delen, *op. cit.*, II, 64). Delen himself sees similarities to van der Weyden (*ibid.*, p. 63).

⁸⁵ Sotheby refers to this but confuses it with Xyl. IIA (*op. cit.*, I, 69).

⁸⁶ *Incunabula in the Huntington Library*, p. xii. ⁸⁷ *Op. cit.*, I, 224-25.

⁸⁸ It seems useful to designate Schreiber's editions as Xyl. IIB, Xyl. VIII, etc.

the text is Latin. Xyl. I-III are classed by Schreiber as the "Rhine Group"; Xyl. IV-VIII, the "High German Group."⁸⁹ Xyl. II-VIII are copied directly from the EP. They have the same format, and they differ from the original only in inferior inspiration, inferior xylographic skill, indications in technique of a different locale. Here and there they add, subtract, or change a detail.

Xyl. IB.—The EP cuts used with a French xylographic text,⁹⁰ like EP, exceedingly rare. One complete copy is in the library of Le Compte de Wazières at Lille, and two leaves are in the BN. Courboin states that these leaves were found in the latter part of the nineteenth century serving as protection to a MS dated 1417.⁹¹ He reproduces TImp and a second plate with the text of TDe. Both leaves are evidently badly damaged.⁹² André Blum reproduces the first page of text and all the temptation cuts.⁹³ Brunet considers this edition the earliest extant work printed in French.⁹⁴

Xyl. IC.—The EP cuts used with typographic text; the Peter van Os edition with Dutch text (Zwolle, 1488 and 1491).⁹⁵ The order of the cuts is changed to the following: Dth, TFa, IFa, TDe, IDe, TAv, IAv, TImp, IImp, TVg, IVg. There are copies in Darmstadt, 's Gravenhage.

Xyl. IIA.—A very exact and clever copy of the EP, but not so skilled or subtle. Schreiber could not reconstruct it, for he saw only an incomplete copy,⁹⁶ probably that in the Haarlem Staatbibliotheek since his reproduction is colored in grey inks.⁹⁷ The Morgan Library has another incomplete copy—nine plates of the twenty-four.⁹⁸

Xyl. IIB.—Like Xyl. IIA except for the substitution of larger,

⁸⁹ *Manuel*, IV, 257, 261.

⁹⁰ The text ends with a sizain which, according to Schreiber, suggests Xyl. X.

Bonne remonstrance par figure et exposition par scripture
De chose utile et nécessaire est cest miroir vrai exemplaire
Si entedes a bon desir pour bien vivre et bien morir.

The last phrase makes me wonder whether this block book might not have been the source of the French typographic editions of the QS text; almost invariably they contained a "bien vivre" section.

⁹¹ Courboin, *Histoire illustré de la gravure en France*, I, 10.
⁹² *Ibid.*, Plates 14-15. See discussion of Xyl. IB in Blum, "Les Incunables xylographiques," *La Revue de l'art*, LI (Jan.-May, 1927), 148 ff.

⁹³ *Les Origines de gravure en France*, I, Plates XLVIII, XLIX, XLX, etc.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 59. ⁹⁵ This is discussed as a typographic edition. ⁹⁶ *Manuel*, IV, 259.

⁹⁷ He remarks the grey-ink coloring of the Haarlem copy (*Manuel*).

⁹⁸ TImp (text); IImp (cut); TVg (text and cut); IVg (text and cut). Heinecken reproduces the TAv cut (*op. cit.*, p. 408) taken from a defective copy in Frankfurt a.M. See *Check List of Fifteenth Century Printing in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, p. 1.

cruder cuts for IImp, TVg, IVg (the substitutes being, oddly, copies of Xyl. III) and for the indication of a second and less skilled hand in the Dth cut. Incomplete copies in Berlin and Frankfurt a.M.

Xyl. IIC.—Like Xyl. IIB, but the text is MS and is in German. In the Columbia University Library there are photostats of the unique copy in the library of the University of Heidelberg.⁹⁹ The Tfa, TVg, and Dth cuts are missing, together with the last page of text.¹⁰⁰ The order of the temptations and inspirations is changed to Tfa, Ifa, TDe, IDE, TAv, IAv, TImp, IImp, TVg, IVg.¹⁰¹ Except for a few brief omissions, generally of repetitious matter, the text is an exact translation of the Latin QS, differing in dialectal forms from that of Ludwig von Ulm.¹⁰² It is my guess that this is not really an edition, but the amateur production of some native of the Rhineland who, wanting an *Ars moriendi* entirely his own, induced a printer of wood-blocks to print for him a set of plates from Xyl. IIB. These he probably supplemented by a translation of the Latin text in his own dialect, made page by page by himself. Perhaps the blocks were not of importance to the printer, since the faintness of the borders indicates that they were pretty well worn out.

Xyl. IID.—Adds signatures to the IImp and TVg cuts. The text is Latin and is printed from movable type, on two sides of paper—sometimes in single column,¹⁰³ sometimes in double.¹⁰⁴ It is attributed to Nicholas Götz, printer of Cologne, and is generally dated *ca.* 1478.¹⁰⁵

Xyl. III.—Probably copied from IIA. Cruder than IIA, but vigorous, and better than IIB. Netherlandish or German. There is a copy in Berlin.

Xyl. IVA-IVD.—Of the High German group; probably copied from IA. Lines are broader than those in III and somewhat more angular. Vigorous.

⁹⁹ MS pal. germ. 34, 114b-128b. See *Die altdutschen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek in Heidelberg*, p. 12.

¹⁰⁰ Two of the missing plates are those which were replaced in Xyl. IIB by inferior cuts from other editions. See Schreiber, *Manuel*, IV, 259.

¹⁰¹ This order is followed in some of the typographic editions, e.g., the Vérard editions and those of Peter van Os. ¹⁰² Xyl. VIIA.

¹⁰³ Copies in the British Museum, in Cologne, and in Wolfenbüttel.

¹⁰⁴ Copies in Dresden, Paris, and the Pierpont Morgan Library.

¹⁰⁵ This is, more properly speaking, a typographic edition and is discussed briefly *infra*, "Editions from Movable Type."

Xyl. IVA.—Probably Augsburg.¹⁰⁶ In TAv there is no boy stealing Moriens's wine.¹⁰⁷ A splendid copy is in the Morgan Library.¹⁰⁸ Others are at Heidelberg, Munich, Paris, and the British Museum. Benjamin Pifteau made a facsimile (Paris, *ca.* 1900). André Blum reproduces all the temptation pictures.¹⁰⁹

Xyl. IVB.—Slightly changed from IVA. There are copies in Breslau and Bamberg, and in the Morgan Library is a fragment, eleven plates out of the twenty-four (since this edition is printed on both sides, six leaves out of fourteen).¹¹⁰ A facsimile was made by Adam Pilinski, with an introduction by G. Pawłowski (Paris, 1883).

Xyl. IVC.—Probably early; probably Augsburg. Contains two additional cuts depicting (1) Creation and Fall; (2) Our Lord as Intercessor with His Father. Copies in Dresden, Munich, Manchester, the Columbine Library at Seville, and the Morgan Library,¹¹¹ the last being perfect except for the transposition of IImp and the text of TImp. Archer M. Huntington made for the Hispanic Society a facsimile of the copy in Seville (1902).¹¹²

Xyl. IVD.—Of late origin in Frankish Germany. Added cuts: (1) St. Michael with scales;¹¹³ (2) *Cours du monde*. The original cuts are very corrupted. In a facsimile made at Zwickau IAv and Dth cuts are interchanged. There are copies of the original in Munich, the Wolfenbüttel, Paris, and the New York Public Library, the latter

¹⁰⁶ Most of the High German group of block books are attached to Augsburg, which was known for great activity in the book craft in general. According to Pollard, the work of Augsburg cutters can be told at a glance (*Fine Books*, p. 16). Weil, however, thinks it possible that this edition was made at Ulm after Ludwig's German block book, *Xyl. VIIA (Der Ulmer Holzschnitt im 15. Jahrhundert*, pp. 20-21).

¹⁰⁷ Pt. III, "The Illustrations."

¹⁰⁸ See Morgan Library check list (1939) p. 1 (*ca.* 1470).

¹⁰⁹ *Les Origines de gravure en France*, Plates L, LII, LIV, etc.

¹¹⁰ The Introduction, TFa with text, IFa with text, TDe with text, IImp with text, TVg with text, IVg without text (Check list [1939], p. 1. Date given is *ca.* 1470).

¹¹¹ Check list (1939), p. 2.

¹¹² Schreiber makes no mention of this facsimile in his list (*Manuel*, IV, xv-xvi).

¹¹³ Closely related to the cut added to the typographic editions made at Leipzig (*infra*, "Editions Printed in Germany"). This was a common subject on the walls of medieval churches (Comper, *Spiritual Songs*, p. xv). Smits reproduces a copy of a beautiful work of van der Weyden on this subject (*Die Iconografie van de nederlandsche Primitieven*, facing 231). A variation of it appears in a copy of the *Knight de la Tour Landry*, accompanying an *exemplum* against too great love of finery. Here the angel has only good deeds in his scale, the evil deeds being in the scale of Satan (van Os, *Religious Visions*, p. 243).

having been purchased from Weigel in 1872.¹¹⁴ The facsimile above mentioned was made in 1910; it has an Introduction by Otto Clemens.

Xyl. V.—Distinguished from IV only by the facts that most of the plates have signatures and that the workmanship is somewhat inferior. The cuts are in very bad condition. There is a copy in Hanover.

Xyl. VI.—Plates differ from IV only in borders and border hatchings. The unique copy, which is in Vienna, is in bad condition.

Xyl. VIIA.—A copy of IV. Generally dated *ca.* 1470. German text and German scrolls. On f. 12v it is signed “Ludwig von Ulm.”¹¹⁵ Artist was not of very great ability;¹¹⁶ letters are very angular. Copies in Paris and Munich. Of the latter a facsimile was made in Munich in 1922 by Ernst Weil.

*Xyl. VIIB.*¹¹⁷—Made with the same picture blocks as VIIA, but the text is in Latin. A copy is in Wolfenbüttel.

Xyl. VIII.—A crude copy of VIIA, made only in outline, without hatchings. Though text is in Latin, scrolls are in German. The last page is signed “Hans Sporer” and dated 1473.¹¹⁸ There is a copy in Zwickau.

Xyl. XIII.—*Ca.* 1470. It seems advisable to deviate from order here and to discuss XIII after VIII, since it has the format of I–VIII, IX–XII being smaller. Angular and cluttered. In spite of the presence of scrolls, it probably goes back, not to the EP, but to a MS copy of ES’s engravings.¹¹⁹ The evidence for this is to be found in the several details not in I–VIII.¹²⁰ Figures are added, and the costume and furniture have been changed to those of the Rhineland or of Flanders.

¹¹⁴ For 1245 Thalers.

¹¹⁵ Hassler identified this Ludwig with Ludwig Hohenwang (*Die Buchdruckerkunst in Ulm*, pp. 5 ff.), but Schreiber says that Ludwig is less probably Hohenwang, who lived in Augsburg, than Ludwig Kuch or Ludwig Friess, both of whom are mentioned in documents of Ulm, *ca.* 1475 (*Manuel*, IV, 263).

¹¹⁶ Weil reproduces the Dth cut, *op. cit.*, p. 23. Hassler reproduces the TImp cut (*op. cit.*, facing p. 58).

¹¹⁷ Weil says that VIIB was positively made at Ulm (*op. cit.*, p. 21).

¹¹⁸ In the colophon Hans calls himself “Priefmaler.” A Nuremberg document of 1479 mentions a Hans Sporer, probably the Hans Prieftrück who in 1474 and 1476 printed Calendars of Johann Müller in Nuremberg and, later, books at Bamberg and Erfurt (Hind, *op. cit.*, I, 212). ¹¹⁹ Schreiber, *Manuel*, IV, 255.

¹²⁰ A few are the high, pointed bonnet on St. Paul in IDe, the omission of the column for the false god in TFa, the presence of an extra devil at the head of the bed in TImp. Also, the erroneous perspective in ES’s engravings is not corrected.

The TVg and IVg cuts and the text are placed last.¹²¹ A copy is in Paris.¹²²

Xyl. IX.—Small format (136×98 mm.). May go back to a MS copy of ES, the same that served as model for XIII;¹²³ may even be anterior to ES's designs.¹²⁴ IX, closer to ES than XIII, gives faithful reproduction of the pictures of this hypothetical MS; XIII shows them changed owing to constant use by successive miniaturists. Hind concludes cutter knew both ES and earlier block books.¹²⁵ Costumes and furniture of Lower Rhine. Copies in British Museum, Paris, and Manchester.¹²⁶

Xyl. X, XI, and XII.—All in octavo (98×80 mm.) with German text based on the CP.¹²⁷ No scrolls.

*Xyl. X.*¹²⁸—MS text. Localized (because of costume and text) in the vicinity of Lake Constance.¹²⁹ Given the date 1470. Made by a High German artist. A free copy of the designs of ES or of MS pictures based on them. Schreiber reaches this conclusion because of similarity in size and the absence in both ES and *Xyl. X* of scrolls.¹³⁰ Hind thinks that the designer of *Xyl. X* knew both ES and the block books derived from EP. The unique copy of this edition is in the Morgan Library,¹³¹ in excellent condition except for the replacement by a reduced pen-and-ink copy from EP¹³² of the original TVg cut. Whoever did the replacing evidently had no way of getting the text

¹²¹ Sotheby, *op. cit.*, II, 27. Heinecken reproduces TAv (*op. cit.*, facing p. 403); Sotheby gives a copy of this (*op. cit.*, II, facing 26).

¹²² Heinecken and Sotheby both speak of a copy in Wolfenbüttel.

¹²³ The extra devil in TImp is in IX as in XIII. Some of the typographic editions have this detail.

¹²⁴ I believe that XIII, too, may be based on a MS earlier than ES's engravings.

¹²⁵ *Op. cit.*, I, 225.

¹²⁶ Several of the cuts are reproduced: by Heinecken TAv (*op. cit.*, facing p. 406); by Sotheby TFa, TAv, and the first page of text (*op. cit.*, II, facing 10); by Pollard IVg (*Fine Books*, facing 26); and by Delen Dth (*op. cit.*, p. 63).

¹²⁷ Schreiber says allied to that of Capranica (see *Manuel*, IV, 265).

¹²⁸ The only xylo-chirographic edition among the block books of larger format is IIC.

¹²⁹ Falk says southern Swabia, perhaps Ulm (*Die deutschen Sterbebüchlein*, pp. 10–11). He is quoting Butsch, who made a facsimile of *Xyl. XII*. Weigel says "mehr alemannisch als schwäbisch" (*op. cit.*, II, 35).

¹³⁰ Obviously this similarity would exist were the dependence the other way around.

¹³¹ Check list (1939).

¹³² The drawing seems to me to be comparatively late. An odd thing is that Schreiber, writing after 1891, remarks that the seventh folio of this copy is lost, but Weigel (1866) mentions the replacement. See Schreiber, *Manuel*, IV, 265, and Weigel, *op. cit.*, II, 27.

of IImp, which should appear on the recto of the same folio, for the page has been left blank.

The text, though plainly based upon the CP, is not, as the QS and the Caxton versions are, a condensation of it. It seems to me to be rather a systematically unintelligent abbreviation of it, long enough to fill the pages opposite the cuts with reading matter. The translator, who I think may have been, like the translator of the text of IIC, the owner of the little volume, began at or near the beginning of each of the temptation sections of the CP and translated as much as he would need for a page, ignoring more significant material at the middle or end of the section. Across from each of the inspiration cuts he wrote enough of a German translation of the prayers of Part IV to fit the small accommodation of his page and gave the piece for a title "Remedium bonum contra temptationem precedentem."¹³³

The cuts of Xyl. X do not, I think, derive from ES's engravings. As I have said in an earlier section,¹³⁴ there is in the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, London,¹³⁵ a Latin MS containing among other religious pieces¹³⁶ an abbreviated version of the CP text with a complete set of pen-and-ink drawings, washed in color, that bear unmistakably close relationship to the cuts of Xyl. X. About this relationship there is nothing strange; according to Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, eminent authority on the subject of early book illustration, there is hardly a block-book cut of which we do not have a parallel in a slightly earlier or a contemporary manuscript.¹³⁷ During his own examination of illustrated manuscripts in southwestern Germany he found predecessors for about ten different woodcut books printed at Augsburg, all the manuscripts dating from 1450 to 1470 and none inferior to the woodcuts.¹³⁸ They were generally on paper, written in a

¹³³ There is an interesting addition to IAv: "Sit aber X̄pus sin liebe müter und' den crucz verliess: und den willē sins vatters volbracht. Vnd der gedultig iob · wib · kind · vnd güt · vmb gotz willen über gab. so ist vns auch notdurfittig alle zitliche ding von den augen vnd ab herczē zü schlahlen vnd got anzeruffen." Perhaps the translator, uncritical though he undoubtedly was, found the fifth temptation of the CP inadequate for even his poorly-defined purpose.

¹³⁴ Pt. I, "Composition of the QS Text."

¹³⁵ Bought for £2,300 in Dec., 1931, from Mr. T. C. Adams, of Snaithfield, in Sheffield.

¹³⁶ Chiefly the Apocalypse. There is also a *Liber de anatomia et medicina*, probably the reason for the interest of the Wellcome Museum.

¹³⁷ "The Heritage of the Manuscript," *Dolphin*, III, 18.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 19. Professor Lehmann-Haupt would date the drawings in the Wellcome MS ca. 1450.

cursive hand, illustrated with pen-and-ink drawings, washed with light, transparent water colors. Except for the facts that the Wellcome MS is on vellum and that the texts of these manuscripts were ordinarily in the vernacular, it would fit into their group in every detail,¹³⁹ and Professor Lehmann-Haupt would no doubt have unearthed it in southern Germany if it had not been brought to England.¹⁴⁰

The cuts of *Xyl. X* are in all probability copied from the pictures of this or a similar manuscript. Not only has Professor Lehmann-Haupt expressed to me a belief that the xylography is later than the drawings, but I have found that the text of the manuscript points to the same general conclusion. Unlike that of the *Xyl. X* block book, in which the CP is altered by abbreviation, the manuscript contains unchanged sections of the original text, but without any provision for the angel subjects, even the unsatisfactory one that the block book offers.¹⁴¹ Furthermore, the position of the drawings in the manuscript, one or two set here and there in a column of script, indicates no concern for the connection between illustration and text.¹⁴² I would go so far as to say that it may have been this kind of manuscript in which the *Ars moriendi* subjects first appeared and in which the Master ES found the inspiration for his engravings.¹⁴³ A considerably greater artist than the illustrator of the manuscript, he might even have taken these inferior designs and, following their composition in general, might have produced his own good pictures of Moriens

¹³⁹ The drawings in the Wellcome MS show the "awakening realism of the Gothic period" which appeared in the new MSS of South Germany. They also show the "almost calligraphic" quality of the lines in pre-1460 drawings—the "folds straight and rounded off at the bottom" that preceded the more angular method of the woodcutters. See Küp, *BNYPL*, 1936, pp. 11-12.

¹⁴⁰ In Dec., 1903, the MS was sold as part of the estate of the Rev. Walter Sneyd, M.A. See the sales catalogue of Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge (1903), p. 6.

¹⁴¹ I do not agree with Hind that the cutter of *Xyl. X* was familiar with the EP and its imitations (*op. cit.*, I, 225). Why, if he knew the more interesting and suitable QS text, should he have fallen back upon the makeshift and somewhat meatless paragraphs that we find on his little pages?

¹⁴² *Xyl. X* is aware of the need for this connection, for the closing lines of the introduction are: "Mit nämen funf aller treffenlichist die einem ieglichen monschen vñb heyls willen siner sel not durfftig sint gewissen solt du merckhen als hie noch geschriben vñ gemolt stot dʒ du wisest widergestond an diñe ende." This passage is not in the CP.

¹⁴³ Mr. Ivins remarks that both engravings and block pictures may go back to some common and much earlier MS source (*BMMA*, XVIII, 232).



THE TEMPTATION TO IMPATIENCE FROM THE
UNIQUE COPY OF THE BLOCK BOOK XYL. X IN
THE PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY



THE TEMPTATION TO IMPATIENCE IN THE MANUSCRIPT IN
THE WELLCOME HISTORICAL MEDICAL MUSEUM, LONDON,
FROM PHOTOSTATS IN THE PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY

in his death struggle. This hypothesis is at least as sound as the contrary one, which Schreiber offers, that a series of lost manuscript drawings, upon which the Xyl. X cuts were based, derive from the engravings.

The cuts of Xyl. X, or of the Wellcome MS or a similar one, were copied for typographic editions—for those made at Saragossa¹⁴⁴ and at Nuremberg and Landshut. The Spanish are less crude¹⁴⁵ and also more closely related to the Xyl. X.¹⁴⁶

Xyl. XI.—An exact copy of X with manuscript text. A beautiful example is at Basel with the cuts copied in the manner of Augsburg.

Xyl. XII.—Another copy of X, but without hatchings and with xylographic text. There are copies at Moscow in the library of Prince Gallitzin and in the Fürstlich fürstenbergische Hofbibliothek at Donaueschingen. A facsimile of the latter was made by A. F. Butsch at Augsburg in 1874, with an interesting introduction by him. This facsimile is less commonly found than some of the others mentioned, but there is a copy at Harvard.¹⁴⁷

A typographic edition of the German text used in Xyl. X, XI, and XII was made by Bämler at Augsburg in 1472.¹⁴⁸ The large characters and the absence of illustrations seem to make more marked the scrappiness of the text.

EDITIONS FROM MOVABLE TYPE

The list of typographic editions of the *Ars moriendi* made before 1500 given in the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* is so recent and so complete that I shall include here only a condensation of it. My ar-

¹⁴⁴ Hans Hurus, who printed one of them, evidently imported the designs from the vicinity of Lake Constance, of which section he was a native.

¹⁴⁵ Sometimes the Spanish cuts appear to be close to the Wellcome MS drawings. Hurus may have known both MS and Xyl. X.

¹⁴⁶ The Nuremberg and Landshut editions often show also the influence of the EP cuts. Pt. III, "Editions Printed in Germany."

¹⁴⁷ Butsch suggests that the text of Xyl. X might have been made from that of Xyl. XII. The facsimile is discussed by Falk, *Die deutschen Sterbebüchlein*, pp. 9-10, and by Freybe, *Das Memento mori in deutscher Sitte bildlicher Darstellung und Volksglauben, deutscher Sprache, Dichtung, und Seelsorge*, pp. 236-37. Falk says that the text is given by Hüttler, *Ars moriendi das ist Die Kunst zu sterben*. He reproduces the Dth picture and a page of text, p. 11. For discussion of this edition see also Schreiber, *Basels Bedeutung für die Geschichte der Blockbücher*, "Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte," CVI (1900). BMC mentions two fragments of a block-book edition in octavo, which may be Xyl. XII. (VI, 679, No. 1A. 24). ¹⁴⁸ BMC XVIII, 2383, No. 1B. 5647.

angement differs from that of the catalogue in one respect—the main divisions are made on a geographic basis instead of on a linguistic one, the countries named as they were in January, 1940. I have added to the enumeration of the books printed in each country any comments of my own which I consider useful or interesting. I do not include signatures.

EDITIONS PRINTED IN GERMANY

CP Version

LATIN

GW No.	Printer	Place	Date	Size	Folios	Woodcuts	Copies Extant
2597	[Drucker der Al- banus legende]	Cologne	[1474]	4°	18	None	20+
2598	Heinrich Eggstein	[Strasbourg]	[1475]	2°	8	None	20+
2608	Heinrich Quentell	Cologne	[1493]	4°	16	Title cut	Many
2610	Heinrich Quentell	Cologne	[1495]	4°	16	Title cut	8
2613	Heinrich Quentell	Cologne	[1498]	4°	16	Title cut	8

GERMAN—(see *infra*; description of early German editions not in *GW*)

QS Version

LATIN

2571	[Götz]	Cologne	[ca. 1475]	2°	12	11 usual cuts	6
2572	[Götz]	Cologne	[ca. 1475]	2°	12	11 usual cuts	3 or 4
2573	[Kachelofen]	[Leipzig]	[ca. 1495]	4°	14	14	12+
2575	[Kachelofen]	[Leipzig]	[ca. 1495/	4°	14	14	10+
			98]				
2576	[Kachelofen]	[Leipzig]	[ca. 1495/	4°	14	14	6
			98]				
2577	[Kachelofen]	[Leipzig]	[ca. 1495/	4°	14	14	8
			98]				
2578	[Kachelofen]	[Leipzig]	[ca. 1497/	4°	14	14	11
			98]				
2579	[Melchior Lotter]	[Leipzig]	[after	4°	14	14	4
			1500?]				

GERMAN

2580	Fyner	[Esslingen]	ca. 1477	4°	6	None	1 ¹⁴⁹
2581	[Kachelofen]	Leipzig	1493	4°	16	13	5
2582	[Kachelofen]	Leipzig	1494	4°	16	13	8
2583	[Kachelofen]	Leipzig	1496	4°	16	13	4

¹⁴⁹ The text of 2580 is doubtful, as the unique copy which was once in Tübingen has disappeared since 1919. The title is "Ein büchlin von der kunst des sterbens gar kurcz." The *Incipit*: "Jewill sterben nit allain den leyen. Sunder auch dē geistlichen lüten schwer

The earliest German editions.—To Germany belongs the distinction of having printed the *Ars moriendi* from movable type for the first time and for the last.¹⁵⁰ The first edition, inserted into the *Gesamtkatalog* as “Addenda,”¹⁵¹ is described as octavo, forty-two folios long, printed perhaps by Johann Mentelin, perhaps at Strasbourg, “not after 1468.” The German text is evidently CP. Early bibliographers appear to have been unacquainted with this edition.

The silence of the *Gesamtkatalog* regarding two rather well-known early editions in German, made at Augsburg with the private press established by the Benedictine abbott Melchior von Stamhaim in the monastery of SS. Ulrich and Afra,¹⁵² 1473 and 1476, respectively, is no doubt owing to the fact that they are both bound with St. Gregory’s *Dialogs* and were reserved for discussion in a later volume.¹⁵³

In the Morgan Library there is an excellent copy of the earlier of the two,¹⁵⁴ from the library of William Morris.¹⁵⁵ The text is an exact translation of the CP, supplemented by a common addition to the CP, the *exemplum* of the Pope and the three Paternosters,¹⁵⁶ and by the prayer of the Carthusian beginning “Ich N. armer sunder . . .,” also found frequently in manuscripts of the *Ars moriendi*.¹⁵⁷ The book is of folio size and contains 193 folios, fifteen of which are given to the *Ars moriendi* (169–84v).¹⁵⁸

erschrockenlich grußlich und auch sorgklich ist Uñ der gemain mēsch also hofft lēger zeleben. . . .” The idea of the first sentence is to be found in Part I of the CP text; the second, in Part V. Perhaps No. 2580 is, like Xyl. X, a new translation and epitomizing of the CP version.

¹⁵⁰ The editions of Adam Walasser may be considered the last. French editions, however, slightly outnumber the German. ¹⁵¹ 2614/10.

¹⁵² Among the sinners who found mercy in TDe St. Afra appears—the only time.

¹⁵³ In the *BMC* they are noted twice, once as part of the work of St. Gregory (XXX, 229–30, No. 3835, d. and 230, No. 1228, d.) and once as *Ars moriendi* (VI, 684, No. 1B. 5653. and No. 1B. 5670). These two editions are discussed also by Falk, *Die deutschen Sterbebüchlein*, p. 27, and *Centralblatt*, 312–13, and by Hasak, *Dr. M. Luther and die religiöse Literatur seiner Zeit*, p. 226. ¹⁵⁴ Check list (1939) No. 311, 29.

¹⁵⁵ The Morgan has a Venetian edition that also belonged to Morris. See *infra*, “Editions Printed in Italy.”

¹⁵⁶ The three Paternosters are efficacious enough, says the Pope to his chaplain, to draw a soul from purgatory without any delay if the first is said in honor of Christ’s bloody sweat; the second, of His sufferings on the Cross; the third, of His ineffable charity which took Him from heaven to live on earth for the salvation of men. The prayers to be said with the Paternosters are in the Roman liturgy (see Falk, *Die deutschen Sterbebüchlein*, p. 26).

¹⁵⁷ For example, Heidelberg MS pal. germ 617, Karlsruhe MS 90, Vienna MS 4444 (Salisb. 78), and many others. See Pt. II.

¹⁵⁸ Besides the *Dialogs* the other contents are: the “Vision of Tundale,” the “Cordiale,”

The first edition noted by the *Gesamtkatalog* is attributed to Matthew of Cracow.¹⁵⁹ The Latin text is the ordinary CP, of which the German editions printed at Augsburg and the *Crafte of Dyeng* are exact translations. Through the kindness of J. V. Scholderer, of the British Museum staff, I have found that the *exemplum* of the Pope and the three Paternosters is present in this edition.¹⁶⁰

Not distinguished except for its large size is the edition next mentioned in the *Gesamtkatalog*, that ascribed to Heinrich Eggestein of Strasbourg.¹⁶¹ It is simply an unillustrated CP text with no supplementary material of any kind. The copy in the Library of Congress is in poor condition.

The editions printed by Nikolaus Götz of Cologne, who with Heinrich Quentell and Konrad Kachelofen shares the distinction of having most often printed the *Ars moriendi*, are, but for the use of movable type, much like the xylographic *editio princeps* and the later block books. Götz used, in fact, the cuts of Xyl. IIB.¹⁶² The title is *Ars moriendi*. Although known copies of the Götz books are few, I have found in New York alone three of *GW* 2572—one in the Public Library, one in the Morgan Library,¹⁶³ and a third in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The Quentell editions are, but for the fact that they, too, are in Latin, in no way like the Götz. They are in quarto, contain the CP text, are without illustrations,¹⁶⁴ and are also supplied with abundant added contents, which the *Gesamtkatalog* somehow fails to note, although at great pains to remark upon the addenda of the French editions. Besides prayers and the *exemplum* of the Pope and the three

the "Vision of the Bishop Forseus," and a miracle from the "Speculum mundi." The printed books may be based on one of several MSS made in Germany in the fifteenth century and containing some or all of these added contents: Munich MS 458, Utrecht MS 173, and Berlin MS 664 oct. The last-named, however, is dated 1477 and may be copied from one of the editions (see Pt. II).

¹⁵⁹ *GW* 2597. For Matthew see Pt. I, "The Question of Authorship."

¹⁶⁰ It is followed by a passage commanding the practice of summoning to one's deathbed a friend to help in the ordeal of dying. Present in almost every MS or printed edition of the CP text, this passage is oddly absent from the *Crafte of Dyeng*. ¹⁶¹ *GW* 2598.

¹⁶² Schreiber classifies the Götz books among the xylographic editions as II D.

¹⁶³ Check list (1939) No. 226, p. 22.

¹⁶⁴ Except for a frontispiece cut depicting a monk giving instruction. Falk identifies him with St. Gregory the Great, patron of the schools, and adds that the cut was often reproduced in incunabula (*Centralblatt*, V, 312).

Paternosters, Quentell has printed instructions on the "Four Last Things," followed by the twenty-third chapter of Book I of the *Imitatio Christi*¹⁶⁵ and the "Six Signs of Election," which are nothing more than the Anselm Questions¹⁶⁶ in a form closer to the originals than are the other two sets of the CP version.¹⁶⁷

Copies of the Quentell editions are numerous. I have examined the [1495] printing in Cornell, in the Newberry Library in Chicago, and in the Library of Congress, and in the last-named, a copy of the [1493] printing.

Only one other printer besides Quentell has given his book the title *Speculum artis bene moriendi*,¹⁶⁸ although both Falk and Miss Comper use it to designate the CP version in any edition.

For frequency in printing the *Ars moriendi* distinction belongs to Konrad Kachelofen of Leipzig,¹⁶⁹ who made five Latin and three German editions of it between 1493 and 1498. To what extent his son-in-law Melchior Lotter had a hand in this work it is not certain. A later Leipzig edition is generally ascribed to him.¹⁷⁰

The Leipzig editions all contain the QS text, with short prayers added. The title of the Latin books is expanded to *Ars moriendi ex variis scripturarum sentenciis collecta cum figuris ad resistendum in mortis agone dyabolice sugestioni valens cuilibet christifideli utilis ac multum necessaria*. The German title is similar, but it does not mention the illustrations: *Ein loblich und nutzbarlich biichelein von deß sterben wie ein itzlich christen mensch.recht yn warem cristen glauben sterben ssal. vnd anfechtung des bossen geystes widder stehn Durch manche nutzbarliche lere der lerer der heylichen schrift.*

The cuts of all the printings are evidently made from the same blocks, which are reduced, but very close, copies of those in the xylographic editions.¹⁷¹ In the books in German two cuts are added to the

¹⁶⁵ According to Father Joseph Malaise, S.J., in the introduction to his English translation of Father van Ginneken's Dutch translation of the *Imitatio*, this chapter was written by Gerhard Groote (see p. xv). ¹⁶⁶ They are based on the set for dying laymen.

¹⁶⁷ Pt. I, "Sources."

¹⁶⁸ Printer of the Latin edition made at Besançon in 1488.

¹⁶⁹ Schreiber calls him the most important Leipzig printer of the 15th century (*Woodcuts from Books of the Fifteenth Century*, p. 49). ¹⁷⁰ *GW* 2579.

¹⁷¹ Not, however, of the EP, since in the illustration of TAv there is at the wine casks no sign of the boy whom the EP artist added to ES's engraving (Pt. III, "Xylographic Editions"). Perhaps from Xyl. IVD, since that has a cut of St. Michael with the scales (*ibid.*). Among the few slight changes in the Leipzig pictures may be noted the scroll with which in

original eleven, one of a man receiving extreme unction, the other of St. Michael with the scales of good and evil. The Latin books make a third addition, depicting a sinner going to confession.¹⁷²

The New York Library has three copies of the Leipzig printings, two in Latin,¹⁷³ the third in what a penciled note on the flyleaf says is the dialect of fifteenth-century Saxony.¹⁷⁴ One of the two Pierpont Morgan copies is marked 1497 and ascribed to Melchior Lotter, although the *GW* makes the dating after 1500,¹⁷⁵ and the British Museum calls the work Kachelofen's.¹⁷⁶ The other¹⁷⁷ is like the New York copies except for confusion in the order of the cuts¹⁷⁸ and a consequent confusion in the text.¹⁷⁹ The characters are larger than those in the other Morgan copy.

*Sixteenth-century editions.*¹⁸⁰—The most prolific printer of the sixteenth-century editions was the priest Johann Weyssenburger, whose press was first at Nuremberg and then at Landshut.¹⁸¹ Although the earliest of the three Nuremberg printings is of 1504,¹⁸² I have examined only those of 1510 and 1512, the first in the New York Public

TDe the devil tries to incite Moriens to despair. In the block books it is generally marked with fine, unintelligible writing, but here with large, clear letters: "OMNIA PRECEPTA DOMINI FREGISTI." The cuts of the 1493 edition are reproduced in Schramm, *op. cit.*, Vol. XIII, Taf. 6-8. Heinecken (*op. cit.*, p. 414) reproduces the TAv cut from what he calls the fourth edition. This is from one of the Leipzig editions, Kachelofen or Lotter. Although the text used is the QS, it is not divided, as in the block books, into units corresponding to the subjects of the cuts, but continues without interruption.

¹⁷² The Morgan copy contains five steel engravings that are, according to a note, of Spanish origin and were made by Clemens Puich in the eighteenth century. One compares the soul to a ship. The others depict the Four Last Things, the first showing the usual deathbed scene with devil and angel contesting for the soul.

¹⁷³ *GW* 2575 and 2579. ¹⁷⁴ *GW* 2582. ¹⁷⁵ *GW* 2579.

¹⁷⁶ *BMC* VI, 678, No. IA. 12379. ¹⁷⁷ *GW* 2573.

¹⁷⁸ The TImp cut is placed at the very beginning, between two extra pictures evidently designed by the same woodcutter. The Dth cut precedes IAv. Since on the back of each cut the proper text is printed, the disorder must be owing to errors in assembling the pages. The added cuts depict the reception of penance and of extreme unction. In the later edition in the Morgan Library they are vis-à-vis.

¹⁷⁹ The text of TImp is opposite the IImp cut, and so forth.

¹⁸⁰ Muther (*Die deutsche Bücherillustration der Gotik und Frührenaissance*, I, No. 700, 97) and Weigel (*op. cit.*, II, 54) both mention a "Büchlein von Sterben," made by Melchior Lotter at Leipzig in 1507. This may be one of the Kachelofen printings.

¹⁸¹ Weyssenburger was the first printer at Landshut. For an account of him see Schottenloher, "Die Landshuter Buchdrucker des 16. Jahrh.," *Veröffentlichungen der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft*, XXI (1930), 1-9.

¹⁸² Ivins, *BMMA*, XVIII, 235. Archbishop Ussher mentions an edition of 1504, which might be the Weyssenburger if he did not call it a "Tractatus arte bene moriendi" (*op. cit.*, p. 98). Weyssenburger's Latin editions have the expanded title of the Kachelofen books.

Library,¹⁸³ the second in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,¹⁸⁴ which are alike in every respect. The two books are quartos, with the QS text in Latin, and are interesting chiefly for their illustrations, most of which have been copied with little skill from the cuts of Xyl. X,¹⁸⁵ although others show the influence of the EP or one of the editions based upon it. The leaves are badly assembled—the cuts being duplicated, omitted, or disarranged.¹⁸⁶ All the eleven original subjects have floral borders with the figure of death worked into the design, but three additional cuts¹⁸⁷ are without them.

In the first of the Landshut editions (1514), of which there is an example in the Morgan Library, the text is again the Latin QS, and the cuts are those of the Nuremberg books. Added is a picture of St. Michael with the scales, much like that in the Leipzig editions,¹⁸⁸ but made from a different cutting.

The 1520 Landshut, interesting because it is Weyssenberger's only German printing and one of the few typographic German CP's recorded,¹⁸⁹ I have not been able to see at first hand. Weigel says that the text is not a translation of the CP,¹⁹⁰ but is rather an independent work made of material from both versions and from other sources.¹⁹¹ The cuts are only three—TFA, St. Michael with the Scales, and Versehung von Leib, Seele, Ehre, und Gut.

*Editions from the text of Adam Walasser (1551-81).*¹⁹²—Adam

¹⁸³ Called the Yemeniz copy after the dealer from whom it was bought.

¹⁸⁴ Weigel describes these editions, *op. cit.*, II, 56-60, 63-64.

¹⁸⁵ Obviously copies, since many details present in Xyl. X are here cut off at the margins for want of space. Perhaps they are made from the Wellcome MS. All cuts in the New York Library copy of the 1510 edition are colored crudely—both designs and borders.

¹⁸⁶ The IAv cut is in first place; the IFa disappears altogether. Thereafter no cut faces its text.

¹⁸⁷ One cut represents God the Father pointing to the Cross; the two others are of the well-known "Leib, Seele, Ehre, und Gut" subject, taken from a work printed between 1489 and 1509 and resembling the *Ars moriendi* in some of its contents (see Falk, *Die deutschen Sterbebüchlein*, pp. 59-61). The cut shows Moriens with doctor, priest, wife, and lawyer at his bedside. ¹⁸⁸ A similar cut is added to Xyl. IVD.

¹⁸⁹ MSS of the CP in German are not rare. The Augsburg eds. of 1473 and 1476 contain the CP in German. ¹⁹⁰ Weigel, *op. cit.*, II, 63.

¹⁹¹ The texts used are apparently amplified: One section has the title "Das der Teufel nyemant zwingen mag," a single brief point in the CP (YW, II, 409). Added to the CP and QS texts are abundant quotations from the Bible and from the Fathers and Doctors of the Church.

¹⁹² See *ADB*, XL, 640-43. In his short life Walasser made a surprising number of translations of religious books and wrote a few original works, among them "Der Teutschen Spiegel." See also *Der Katholik*, LXXV (1895), 453-67.

Walasser's version of the *Ars moriendi* (*Kunst wol zusterben. Ein gernutzlichs hochnotwendiges Büchlin in ausz hayliger Schrift vnd alten bewerten Lehrern mit sondern fleisz gezogen mit schönen Exempeln vnd Figuren gezieret*), is so full an amplification of the QS text that the editions made of it by Sebald Mayer at Dilingen in 1569 and 1570 might be reserved for discussion of later books based on the *Ars moriendi*. In spite of added sections, however, and expansion of the original sections, the old *Ars* is readily recognizable; hence the Walasser editions can perhaps be handled here as the last of those made from movable type.

The Walasser *Ars moriendi* was reprinted at Dilingen in 1579, 1585, and 1603,¹⁹³ and again at Sulzberg in 1688.¹⁹⁴ I have examined a copy of a 1570 edition¹⁹⁵ in the Spencer Collection of the New York Public Library and parts of the 1603 edition in the British Museum, both examples, except for pagination, exactly alike. The books are squat little volumes¹⁹⁶ quite different from the large, flat EP and the block books based on it, and from the earlier typographic editions. All the important parts of the text are there—the temptations, in their usual order, but increased by two, one to hope of a longer life, the other to credulity toward the devil in the form of an angel;¹⁹⁷ the inspirations, with corresponding additions; the exhortations; the interrogations, nineteen in number; an abundance of prayers. The added parts are not unusual—a list of sins for confession, of which Walasser makes much; a disputation between Moriens and the devil;¹⁹⁸ an exhortation for the well man to keep death always before his eyes; an exhortation for the dying man to die with resignation; a translation of the first part of Gerson's *De arte moriendi*; a closing section with the title "Zaigt an was bayde güte vnd böse Menschen nach irem Tod zugewarten haben." With the amplification of the old text the number of citations is greatly increased, and new writers are cited.¹⁹⁹ Frequent references to the "alte Catholische römische

¹⁹³ Falk, *Die deutschen Sterbebüchlein*, p. 12.

¹⁹⁴ Dutuit, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

¹⁹⁵ The dedication is 1569.

¹⁹⁶ Small octavo (6"×3 1/4") with 313+viii ff.

¹⁹⁷ Only one cut is given for temptation and inspiration here.

¹⁹⁸ "Volget ein Disputation des Teufels wider den jetzsterbenden vnd wie ihm der sterbend antworten soll. Ist gleich wie ein ausszug der versuchungen die hie oben nach lengs aussgeführt seind."

¹⁹⁹ Aristotle, St. John Chrysostom, St. Gregory of Nyssa, Hugh of St. Victor, and Severus Sulpitius's life of St. Martin are examples.

Kirche," lengthy sections on the importance of faith and reference to the "unverschämt" Luther indicate a spirit of controversy in the air not prominent in the original *Ars moriendi*.

Except for the adaptation of costume to the later period, the transformation of Moriens into a typical Senex with white beard and hair,²⁰⁰ and the omission of scrolls, the cuts are modeled on those of the block books.²⁰¹ Some of the pictures, notably TVg, IVg, IAv, and Dth, are close to the originals; others show on the artist's part an interesting independence in composition and line.²⁰² In the two cuts introduced to illustrate the added temptation to hope for a longer life hell-mouth is depicted, in the first, concealed from Moriens by a curtain held by little puppy-like devils with fierce beaks, and in the second pointed out to him by the angel, who designates with the other hand souls on the pathway to God. For the other additional temptation—to mistake Satan for an angel of light—one cut has seemed to the artist sufficient; in this the real identity of two devils,

²⁰⁰ In a few of the cuts he wears a night cap in the style of an aviator's helmet. This may indicate a relation to the edition made by Mareschal at Lyons. The usual variety in bedstead is present, and here also, variety in the pillow.

²⁰¹ Possibly the EP. Or judging by a devil at the head of the bed, possibly Xyl. IX. or XIII. This devil is also in the Mareschal.

²⁰² The angel figures suggest greater activity and have some of the billowy quality of the Italian cuts. The chief differences in the particular pictures are:

TFa: The king and the queen praying to the false god have been joined by three or four other figures, with an uncomfortable effect of crowding. The suicide and the woman with rods and scourge are replaced by the figure of a Tudor citizen with a book, containing, no doubt, heretical doctrine.

IFa: This cut is much changed. Moriens is being strengthened in faith by visions of missionaries crossing the sea in a small boat, a priest saying Mass, and finally by one of paradise.

TDe: Moriens is being tortured by a vision of Our Lord judging the world. A man has hanged himself to a tree; another is in the act of cutting his own throat. Added to this change the omission from the cut of the accusing woman and of the two beggars indicates that the artist intends to depict not so much the past sins of Moriens as the results of the sin of despair.

IDe: King David, in regal robes and crown and with his harp, has joined the repentant sinners. St. Paul, bolt upright on his horse but looking somewhat dazed as the light from heaven follows him, appears in the background. In the clouds above, an interested cherub in a tight bodice gazes down.

IImp: Added are Job, covered with sores, and St. Andrew on a St. Andrew's cross. Beside him is St. Peter, crucified head down.

IAv: The compositin is greatly changed. The house is divided into two parts, which appear in the right and left background, respectively. Reserved for the foreground is the horse, his bridle held by a particularly repulsive devil, who has just removed treasure from an open coffer.

one in angelic and one in kingly robes,²⁰³ is being disclosed by the guardian angel.

The added cuts, representing the death dance, the struggle of angel and devil for a soul, and the Four Last Things with a picture of the commitment and release of the souls in purgatory worked in,²⁰⁴ are models of compact schematization. The pages are generally divided into boxes, or compartments, in each of which some detail or aspect of the idea to be projected is made a contributing part of an orderly whole.

There is a seventeenth-century manuscript of the Walasser version²⁰⁵ at Munich.

Single-sheet Ars moriendi.—The *Ars moriendi* printed upon a single sheet of small folio size (265×190 mm.)²⁰⁶ is not unlike the cuts added to the Walasser version in that it manages to tell the whole story in a highly compendious way.²⁰⁷ The sheet is divided into three parts; in the middle is Moriens, with a religious in prayer at the head and at the foot of his bed,²⁰⁸ five lively devils, below, and five angels, above, all with scrolls, respectively tempt and console him. The figures are closely related to those of the block books, but the order of temptations and consolations is changed. The only text is the series of couplets in German appearing on the scrolls.²⁰⁹

²⁰³ According to a quotation in the text from Severus Sulpitius's life of Bishop Martin an evil spirit in royal robes appeared to St. Martin saying, "Ich bin Christus." In the cut both devils are easily recognized by their animal feet, although the evil spirit in St. Martin had "gulden schühen."

²⁰⁴ In the lowest of the three sections in this cut angels wait at the far end of a bridge to welcome the souls of those who have successfully crossed the stream, while on the banks devils are greedily eyeing those who have fallen into the water. Might Addison have seen this picture before writing the "Vision of Mirza?"

²⁰⁵ From the Dilingen edition of 1597. See *Die deutschen Handschriften der K. Hof-und Staatsbibliothek zu München*, p. 442. ²⁰⁶ Dutuit, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

²⁰⁷ This was a popular method. An Antwerp Museum altar piece by Roger van der Weyden, illustrating in seven scenes the administering of the sacraments shows it at its best. The altar piece is reproduced in *Liturgical Arts*, Vol. III, No. 2 (1934). The extreme unction picture, with an emaciated Moriens and a graceful angel with scroll, is enough like the block-book cuts to support the contention of some critics that van der Weyden was the author of them. Dr. Smits reproduces a lovely schematized painting by J. Mostaert (?) of the Last Judgment, seven works of mercy, seven deadly sins, also in the Antwerp Museum (*op. cit.*, p. 220).

²⁰⁸ Perhaps one is intended for the "faithful friend" whom most of the *Ars moriendi* books mention.

²⁰⁹ The temptation to despair is, for instance:

This edition, if so it may be called, has attracted the attention of most of the bibliographers. Sotheby describes it,²¹⁰ and Weigel²¹¹ and Falk²¹² reproduce it as well. According to Schreiber, who has most recently mentioned it,²¹³ it was probably printed in Bavaria²¹⁴ between 1465 and 1475 and was possibly intended to be pasted on the wall. The British Museum copy, upon which he bases his remarks, is accompanied by a second sheet, depicting by similar arrangement, the Last Judgment. The only other known example, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, has four leaves; in these the Four Last Things are made complete, and a death dance is added.

The Ars moriendi in the Hortulus anime.—From the end of the fifteenth century to the third decade of the sixteenth, while the *Livres d'heures* were still flourishing in France, the *Hortulus anime*, a book of somewhat the same kind, but of a decidedly more homespun quality,²¹⁵ was widely circulated in Germany.²¹⁶ This work often con-

Hor im nich du hast hewt v'dint
das im unser herre muss sein freundt.

The inspiration to patience:

Kurtz pein ist hie gut zu leyden
Darnach volgt ewigs pleyben.

²¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, II, 166. He speaks of facsimiles of the sheets made by Mr. Henry Foss in 1817. Mr. Foss evidently did not read the German couplets on the scrolls and concluded from the letters of the alphabet accompanying them that the work was intended for the use of children.

²¹¹ *Op. cit.*, II, 24. Reproduction, *ibid.*, p. 22.

²¹² *Die deutschen Sterbebüchlein*, pp. 13-15. See also Dutuit, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

²¹³ *Manuel*, II, 250, and IV, 313. ²¹⁴ "... si non d'Augsbourg," *ibid.*, II, 250.

²¹⁵ Brightman describes both works as manuals of private prayers, service books containing supplementary devotions, which from the ninth century on were added to the divine service (*The English Rite*, p. xi). Dr. Friedrich Dörnhoffer, in the Introduction to his fine facsimile of MS Bibl. Pal. Vindob. 2706 of the 1510 *Seelengärlein* (Hague, 1907, and Frankfurt, 1911), states that whereas the text and illustrations of the *Horae* were both fixed by the fifteenth century, it was not until the sixteenth that the *Hortulus anime* attained a conventional form. Georg Domel says that the *Hortulus anime* was intended for the common people (*Die Entstehung des Gebeibuches ... bis zum Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts*, p. 63). The *Horae* rarely, if ever, had an *Ars moriendi* section, although commonly they contained the litany, the seven penitential psalms, and occasionally the "Commendatio animarum" (see *The Illuminated MSS in the Library of the Fitzwilliam Museum*, Cambridge, Nos. 72, 78, 80, 6.e.1.Fw. 136, and 6.e.10.Fw. 99). In the *Horae* there was generally a section devoted to the "Vigiles mortuorum," often with a border depicting devils and angels fighting for the souls of men (*A Descriptive Catalogue of the MSS in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, Cambridge, 168 and 291).

²¹⁶ Dr. Hanns Bohatta maintains that there were 139 editions of the *Hortulus anime*, the last published in 1598 (*Bibliographie der livres d'heures, Officia, Hortuli anime, Coronae B M V, Rosaria und Cursus B M V*, pp. 72-77). Obviously he is including the editions of the post-Reformation *Hortulus anime*, a very different book.

tains what might accurately be called an edition of the *Ars moriendi*,²¹⁷ for the text is a combination of the CP version and Gerson, following the general outline of the CP²¹⁸ and, when it has the chance, quoting Gerson verbatim. The section does not appear in the first Latin edition printed by Wilhelm Schaffener²¹⁹ (Strasbourg, 1498), but I have found it in a 1503 edition in the Morgan Library²²⁰ and in two in the Metropolitan Museum, 1516 and 1518.²²¹

The Morgan copy has an interesting title: *Hortulus anime, denuo diligentissime per prestantissimos viros et dominos doctorem Brant et magistrum Jacobum Wympffelingen castigatus*; and below there is from "Sebastianus Brant ad lectorem" a Latin poem of eight verses.²²² Sebastian Brant did indeed make a German translation of the *Hortulus anime* in 1503 or 1504, which was the text used for most of the Strasbourg editions printed thereafter.²²³ This is the translation in the Vienna MS edited by Dörnhoffer²²⁴ and in a 1504 edition in the Columbia University Library. With the "Wie man sol lernen sterben" section he has taken liberties, for although the interrogations, an exhortation, and the usual prayers are present, the temptations are

²¹⁷ The *Hortulus anime* is not, however, of the compendium group as the contents are not doctrinal, but devotional.

²¹⁸ The temptations when they are present are treated sketchily and are out of place, but the interrogations are increased, with some stress on the abjuration of heresy, suggestive of the storm already brewing. Added also are a section with the title "Sex observanda per moritum," St. Bonaventure's "Cursus de Passione Domini," a "Cursus de compassionie Mariae," a "Planctus Beatae Mariae Virginis" beginning with the "Stabat Mater," and similar pieces.

²¹⁹ Most of the 139 editions were printed at Strasbourg. See Bohatta, *op. cit.* Two decades earlier Lübeck was the chief center of prayerbook printing. The books were for the most part "Spiegels"—*Der Spiegel der Conscientien, Der Spiegel der Sammiticheyt, Der Spiegel der Sachtmödicheit* (Geffcken, *op. cit.*, I, 122).

²²⁰ Printed at Strasbourg by Wehinger. Occasionally the text is more like the QS than the CP.

²²¹ The latter was printed at Nuremberg by Friedrich Peypus for Johann Koberger. In 1516 J. Clein made an edition for Koberger at Lyons. Perhaps the earlier Metropolitan Museum copy is of this printing. The text in the two Metropolitan books is identical. Schottenloher speaks of the charming quality of the editions made for Koberger, and especially of the illustrations, made in part by Hans Springinklee, of the school of Dürer (*Das alte Buch*, pp. 88-89).

²²² The 1498 edition contains a Latin poem following the title, but makes no mention of Brant.

²²³ The first German translation was printed by Hans Gruninger in 1501 and reproduced only once—in 1507 (by Johannes Knobloch at Strasbourg).

²²⁴ Dornhoffer states that the text is "een bewerking van Sebastian Brant" (Introd. to his facsimile).

not; and there is an introductory section containing directions for preparation for death which, if their source lies in the *Ars moriendi* at all, were taken from it here and there and given a new organization and emphasis.²²⁵

Other German editions of the Ars moriendi.—The British Museum Catalogue²²⁶ speaks of a German book in quarto, possibly printed by Albrecht Kunne at Memmingen in 1505, that apparently contains the CP version. The title is: *Ain tractetlein von dem sterbenden menschen von der anfechtung im sterben. Von ettliche frag stuck tröstung, und ermanung, von den ennd des sterbenden menschen*.²²⁷

Spiegel der Seelen.—Separated linguistically from the other German

²²⁵ The six points, which a man should learn long before death arrives, are: repentance for sin, recourse to the Mother of God, recourse to the wounds of Christ, willingness to die, desire that one's death be sanctified by the death of Christ, firmness in faith.

Brant could hardly have failed to know the *Ars moriendi*. In the *Narrenschiff* he used a cut probably based on one of the block-book cuts, and he was a close friend of Geiler von Kaysersberg, who translated Gerson's *De arte moriendi* into German.

Brant's translation of the *Hortulus anime* is generally ascribed to him in a poem:

Der selē gärtlin wurde ich gnent
Vō dē lafein mā mich noch kent
zū Strassburg i seym vatterlant
Hat mich Sebastianus brant
Gesehē und vast corrigiert
Zu teusch auch vil transferiert
Was mā i mich sagt hie i zeyt
Das selb mā dort mit freydē schneyt
Do wurt 5 so mē recht auffgon
Wer mich recht pflätzt den wurt d̄ lō

This is not a translation of the poem in the Latin edition of 1503.

A thoroughly Protestant *Hortulus anime* was printed by Rhaw at Wittenberg in 1548 and reissued at short intervals up to 1581. It contains two pictures of Luther and discussions of prayer, the articles of faith, the superstitions of papists, and nothing at all on death. There is a facsimile copy in the Metropolitan Museum. I have found no indication that the *Hortulus anime* was translated into English, although a work of the name appears on a list of books proscribed on the authority of "my lorde of London" in 1531 (in Lambeth MS 306, 65, 2. See EETS, 15, OS, 34). Bishop Challoner's wellknown *Garden of the Soul*, while very little like the medieval *Hortulus anime*, contains a section on sickness here and there reminiscent of the *Ars moriendi*: "Engage your best friends to give you timely notice, if your distemper be dangerous, and not to flatter you with hopes of life" and "Sickness is often sent for punishment of sin, and a sincere repentance and confession of sin is often a more effectual means of recovery than any other" (Reprint of the 1741 ed., Lond., 1916, p. 280).

²²⁶ LXXVI, 133, No. 1360 e. 16.

²²⁷ The Rosenthal catalogue, No. 18, p. 180, advertises a copy of a book made by Adam Petri at Basel in 1523. The *Incipit* is, however, suggestive of the chapter from Suso's *Horologium*: "Wie man sol lernen sterben mit einer erschrocklichen Klag eins weltlich sterbende an dagegen eins seligen menschen trostung." Schreiber discusses this work, V B, 101, No. 4640.

editions is the Low German *Spiegel der Seelen*,²²⁸ published in octavo by Peter Quentell in 1520 at Köln. Although a very free rendering of the old *Ars*,²²⁹ the *Spiegel der Seelen* may yet be discussed as one of the editions, since it contains not only the usual eleven cuts but much of both CP and QS texts as well. The divisions are those of the CP,²³⁰ but the QS is obviously the source of the temptations. Quentell, who evidently had inherited a fondness for making compilations of death pieces,²³¹ included in the *Spiegel der Seelen* such things as sermons on the Last Judgment, the physical signs of death, the Seven Last Words, the Four Last Things,²³² the three Paternosters, without, however, the *exemplum* of the Pope and his chaplain.

The cuts are worth a few words. Though marred by excessive hatchings and cross hatchings, which create a crowded impression quite at variance with the restfulness of the *editio princeps*, they are extremely interesting because the designer was less concerned with the plight of Moriens than with ornamental Tudor costume. The angels, here brisk and buxom and apparently very much about their business, are overadorned with points and puffings and fringes. The devils are rendered savage by bunches of stiff feathers. The soul issuing from the mouth of the dying man (in the earlier cuts a naked newborn child) wears knee breeches. The feeling for variety exceeds that of the block-book pictures; not only is Moriens's nightcap varied, and the head of his bed, but sometimes he is so far removed to the background as to seem an unimportant spectator.

The Dth cut is repeated on f. 48v. There are five or six added cuts from a different hand, depicting scenes in the life of Our Lord, hell-mouth, and the figure of death.

²²⁸ No. 347 in the Borchling and Claussen catalogue (*Niederdeutsche Bibliographie* may be another Low German edition: *Sterbebüchlein: Van dem stervenden Mynschen* (Magdeburg, Simon Koch, um 1500) *Incipit*: "Hijr begynnet eyne schone geistliche lere van dem stervende minschen dat eyn deil ghenomē is uth dem boke dat de meyster gemaket hefft van der kunst wol to stervende unde is eiñ kunst aller kunste." Geffcken speaks of it (*op. cit.*, I, 110) and also Schramm (*op. cit.*, XII, 408-10). I see no reason to suppose, however, that it is a real *Ars moriendi*.

²²⁹ The author sometimes adds citations; sometimes, as in TImp and to a large extent in TAv, he changes the text.

²³⁰ Although the order of the CP divisions is not adhered to, TAv also changes positions with TVg. This change, judging by the text, is deliberate.

²³¹ See Pt. III, "Editions Printed in Germany."

²³² But not the text of the Four Last Things used in his editions of the *Ars moriendi*.

The *Spiegel der Seelen* is mentioned by Panzer,²³³ Scheller,²³⁴ Falk,²³⁵ and Borchling and Claussen.²³⁶ I have been able to gather my information about it from the fine copy in the Pierpont Morgan Library.²³⁷

EDITIONS PRINTED IN HOLLAND

CP Version (all in Netherlandish)

GW No.	Printer	Place	Date	Size	Folios	Woodcuts	Copies Extant
2631	Leeu	[Antwerp]	ca. 1492	8°	60	0	1
2632	[van Berghen]	Antwerp	1500	8°	44	2	1

QS Version (all in Netherlandish)

2594	[Snellart]	Delft	1488	4°	168	15	3
2595	Peter van Os	Zwolle	1488	2°	90	17	5
2596	Peter van Os	Zwolle	1491	2°	84	15	5

To the above summary I can add little, since I have had no opportunity to examine at first hand any of the Dutch "Sterfboecks."²³⁸ Written comment on them has been confined to the Zwolle editions. The text used by Peter van Os is a greatly expanded version of the QS. A. F. Burssens, who has written somewhat fully of the Dutch *Ars moriendi* in its relation to another Dutch devotional book, *Dat Boeck van der Voirsienicheit Godes*, is specific about the nature of the interpolations: between TFa and IFa are discussed the art of dying and the eternal pains of the obdurate, the worshippers of false gods,

²³³ III, 167. ²³⁴ No. 600. ²³⁵ *Die deutschen Sterbebüchlein*, p. 80.

²³⁶ *Op. cit.*, No. 652. ²³⁷ There are added cuts.

Included among the *Ars moriendi* books by many of the bibliographers is a work printed presumably by Gunther Zainer at Augsburg in the early 1470's and called variously *Preciosissimus liber de arte moriendi*; *Nobilissimus de arte moriendi*; *Tabula dispositorii artis moriendi*. I have discovered, however, that the text is identical with that of the *Dispositorium moriendi* by Johann Nider and have discussed it in the literary history of the *Ars moriendi* as an important forerunner of the CP version. According to Miss Stillwell there are twelve copies in American libraries (*Incunabula in American Libraries*, A 973).

Polain gives two other CP editions in Latin not remarked by the GW. Both are included with the *Manipulus curatorium* of Guido de Montrocher. One (Basel, Michael Wenssler n.d.), is in the library of the city of Anvers (*Catalogue des livres imprimés au quinzième siècle des bibliothèques de Belgique* (II, 334, No. 1776). The second (Cologne, Barthélemy de Unckel, 1476) is in Louvain (*ibid.*, II, 345, No. 1777). There is another copy in Huntington Library. Miss Stillwell mentions a third edition of Guido's book with the *Ars moriendi* added, also of Cologne (Johann Guldenschaff, ca. 1480) (Stillwell, G533).

²³⁸ French, Netherlandish, Spanish, and Catalan incunabula are much more rare than German and Italian. See Ivins, "Artistic Aspects of Fifteenth Century Printing," *PBSA*, XXVI (1932), 14.

the oppressors of poverty; between TDe and IDe, the joys of the saved and the insignificance in eternity of worldly wealth and nobility.²³⁹

It is interesting to note that van Os has illustrated his books with the eleven accurately drawn, if badly cut,²⁴⁰ pictures of Xyl. IC.²⁴¹ He has shifted TAv and IAv from fifth to third place, as the French books do,²⁴² and he has used Dth twice, once as a frontispiece. Sotheby reproduces the cut of IFa,²⁴³ and Holtrop that of TAv.²⁴⁴

Other editions printed in the Low Countries.—At Louvain in *ca.* 1480 John Paderborn of Westphalia printed an unillustrated CP with the title *Tractatus artis bene moriendi perutilis* with the *Speculum de confessione* of Antonius de Butrio.²⁴⁵ A manuscript in the possession of Curt F. Bühler, of the Pierpont Morgan Library staff, contains the *Speculum de confessione* of Antonio, copied, according to the colophon, from this edition of John Paderborn. The CP version in Latin which is also in Mr. Bühler's manuscript is probably from the same edition, since all the works in the manuscript are listed as the contents of the Paderborn book. These, by the way, are the contents of the later editions made by Quentell at Cologne.²⁴⁶

In the Library of the University of Amsterdam there is a sort of death compilation called *Materien, devote, dienende tot salicheit van allen kersten menschen* (Schoonhoven, Regulerien, 1503). It contains the temptations, interrogations, litany, "Commendatio anime," and other salutary exercises.²⁴⁷

²³⁹ *Dat Boeck van der Voirsienicheit Godes*, p. 56. See also Weigel's analysis of the text (*op. cit.*, II, 66 ff.). Also Burssens, "Verhouding van der Nederlandse Sterfboeken tot L'Art de bien mourir," *Leuvense Bijdragen*, XVI (1924), 150-57. Also Burssens, "De onderlinge Verhouding van Ars moriendi, dat Sterfboeck en dat Boeck vander Voirsienicheit Godes," *Het Boeck*, XIV (1925), 216 ff. ²⁴⁰ Weigel, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

²⁴¹ Schreiber, *Manuel*, IV, 258. The scrolls are in Dutch.

²⁴² This might suggest a connection. It is possible that more than one maker of an *Ars moriendi*, however, thought avarice the wrong temptation for the last place.

²⁴³ *Op. cit.*, III, 73.

²⁴⁴ *Catalogus librorum saeculo XV impressorum quotquot in Bibliotheca Regia Hagana*, No. 633, Pl. 84.

²⁴⁵ A famous jurist of Bologna (Geffcken, *op. cit.*, I, 30). *GW* 5829-30. The *Ars moriendi* was sometimes combined with books on confession, perhaps because of its descent from Gerson's *Tripartitum*. All the Spanish and Catalan editions were printed with a "Confessionale" (*GW* 2591-93, 2633). ²⁴⁶ *Supra*.

²⁴⁷ Nijhoff and Kronenberg, eds., *Nederlandsche Bibliographien van 1500 tot 1540*, No. 1502.

The Fairfax catalogue of books sold in 1917, I (No. 48), 17, contains *Een seer profitelijk Boecxken om alle Menschen wel te leeren sterven*, a 12° of twenty pages with six cuts. It was published at Delft²⁴⁸ (ca. 1520) by Cornelis Cornelissen.

EDITIONS PRINTED IN FRANCE

CP Version

LATIN

GW No.	Printer	Place	Date	Size	Folios	Cuts	Copies Extant
592a ²⁴⁹	[Ulrich Gering]	Paris	Not before 1478	4°	[16]	None	1
2599	Printer of Tardif ²⁵⁰	[Angers or Paris]	[1475-80]	4°	20	None	2
2602 ²⁵¹	[Marchant]	Paris	1483	4°	32	None	8
2603 ²⁵²	[Martineau with Caillaut]	[Paris]	[ca. 1485?]	4°	24	None	2
2604	[Martineau with Caillaut]	[Paris]	[ca. 1485?]	4°	24	None	[5]
2605	[Printer of the <i>Ars moriendi</i>]	[Lyons]	[ca. 1490]	4°	20	12	6
2606	Caillaut	[Paris]	[1490]	4°	24	None	5
2607 ²⁵³	Marchant	Paris	1490	4°	32	6	6 ²⁵⁴
2609	Marchant	Paris	1494	8°	44	3	4
2611	Baligault	Paris	1496	8°	52	None	3
2612	Marchant for Petit	Paris	1497	8°	44	None	7
2614	Marchant for Petit	Paris	1499	8°	44	None	7

FRENCH

2617	[Dupré]	[Paris]	[ca. 1481]	2°	36	None	1
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QS Version

LATIN

2574	[Siber]	[Lyons]	[ca. 1495]	4°	14	12 ²⁵⁵	4
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²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 448. ²⁴⁹ Attributed in the text to St. Albertus Magnus.

²⁵⁰ He printed Tardif's *Compendium eloquentiae*.

²⁵¹ The title is *Ars bene vivendi beneque moriendi*.

²⁵² The added contents of this and of 2604, 2606 are: "Ad S. Michaelem carmen"; "De meditatione mortis"; St. Bruno's "De meditatione mortis carmen"; St. Bernard's "De contemptu mundi carmen."

²⁵³ Title of this and 2609, 2611-12, 2614 is *Tractatus de arte bene vivendi beneque moriendi*.

²⁵⁴ This book, as well as 2602, 2609, 2611-12, 2614, has the same additions as above (n. 252) and also a "Speculum peccatoris." ²⁵⁵ Some of the cuts are repeated.

FRENCH

			1492	2 ^o	200	70 ²⁵⁷	5
2586 ²⁵⁶	LeRouge & Couteau	Paris					
	with Ménard for						
	Vérard						
2587 ²⁵⁸	[Vérard]	Paris	1493/94	2 ^o	198	65	1
2589 ²⁵⁹	Vérard	Paris	1496	2 ^o	200	Numerous	3
2590	Vérard	Paris	1498	2 ^o	200	Numerous	1
2584	[Mansion] ²⁶⁰	[Bruges]	[ca. 1480]	2 ^o	24	None	3
2585	[Boutellier]	[Lyons]	[ca. 1488]	4 ^o	18	12	1
2588	[Siber]	[Lyons]	[ca. 1495]	4 ^o	18	12	1

Of the Latin books with CP text I have had occasion to examine two. The first of these was a slightly imperfect copy of *GW* 2612 in the McGill University Library, a small octavo volume²⁶¹ published by Guy Marchant at Paris in 1497. With identical contents, except for the omission of a *Speculum peccatoris*,²⁶² was the second, *GW* 2603, a Caillaut printing (s.a.l.), an example of which is at Harvard. It is interesting to note that the *De meditatione mortis* of the added contents is the unfailingly popular chapter of Blessed Henry Suso on the art of dying.²⁶³ The Latin poems are concerned chiefly with *ars vivendi*, a fact which accounts for the printer's colophon: *De arte bene vivendi beneque moriendi tractatus finit feliciter.*

The single edition with the CP text in French, the unique copy of which is in the Bibliothèque Municipale Toulouse, the editors of the *Gesamtkatalog* have designated as only doubtfully CP. Through the kindness of M. G. d'Arcizas, assistant librarian, I have seen enough of the text to be certain that the book is of the CP group.²⁶⁴

²⁵⁶ The books published for or by Vérard at Paris have added contents, different, however, from those in the Latin editions. The title is generally *Lart de bien vivre et bien mourir*.

²⁵⁷ Some of the cuts are repeated in this and in 2587.

²⁵⁸ Text says "12 February 1453."

²⁵⁹ There is in the British Museum a magnificent copy of this book on vellum, once owned by Henry VII. It was given to the nation with other books in 1757 by George II (see George Bullen's Introduction to the facsimile of the *editio princeps*, p. 21).

²⁶⁰ Colard Mansion was an illuminator who assisted Caxton with his press at Bruges (*CHL*, II, 354).

²⁶¹ Octavo editions are rare. Four of the six are French. Probably the octavo books, and perhaps the quarto, were made pocket size so that they might easily be carried on journeys (Falk, *Die deutschen Sterbebüchlein*, p. 9).

²⁶² The Caillaut book differs also in being quarto and in lacking the "arte bene vivendi" phrase of the colophon. ²⁶³ Part I, "Literary Forerunners."

²⁶⁴ According to the table given me in full by M. d'Arcizas, the text contains, in their accustomed order, the six parts of the CP text. In the second of these the five temptations

The Latin QS printed supposedly by Jehan Siber at Lyons in 1495 (*GW* 2574) is notorious for the stupid repetition of woodcuts, IAv appearing three times.²⁶⁵

The Siber cuts, though based on one of the block-book editions,²⁶⁶ show a good deal of original detail—in the nightcap of Moriens, now a turban, now something like an aviator's helmet; in the new touches on the devils, a headpiece like a bunch of feathers on one, the hennepin of a medieval *grande dame* on another; in the excellent facial expressions of demons and men. The bed is often highly ornate, and sometimes the pillow is given a fancy shape.²⁶⁷

The *Gesamtkatalog* classifies as of the CP group²⁶⁸ a book which is more accurately to be described as a combination of the two texts, CP and QS. The method of combining them is not skillful: the whole QS is given, together with all parts of the CP except the second, in spite of the ineffectual repetition thereby introduced.²⁶⁹ There is a copy of this edition in the New York Public Library.

The cuts are based on those of the block books and bear the monogram of an ID, who holds an important place in the book illustration of Lyons.²⁷⁰ Like other designers of later *Ars moriendi* editions, ID is not without independence in handling his originals. And he has

follow one another with no rearrangement. After the sixth part, which is "des oraisons faictes sur les mourās," there is an added division with the title "Exortatiōs songulières q̄ doit faire le prestre au malade." There are extant MSS of the CP in French. Caxton had a French version of the CP which he translated and printed in 1490.

²⁶⁵ There are additional errors, I believe, in the text of the scrolls.

²⁶⁶ Probably Xyl. IX or Xyl. XIII.

²⁶⁷ The same cuts were used in the editions made at Lyons, presumably by Boutellier and Mareschal (*GW* 2585 and s.n. col. 729). According to Claudin, *Histoire de l'imprimerie en France au XV^e et au XVI^e siècle*, III, 212, the watermarks prove them Lyonnese. The cuts of IAv, IFa, IDE, TImp, IImp, TVg are reproduced in Claudin (*op. cit.*, III, 210-12) and also in Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, XI, 512. About the cuts there is little French; upon the contrary, German influence is quite manifest, a fact easily accounted for by the geographical position of Lyons, on the road between France and Italy on the one hand, and Germany and Spain on the other.

²⁶⁸ *GW* 2605. The title is *Tractatus breuis ac valde utilis de arte et scientia bene moriendi*.

²⁶⁹ Much of the third, fourth, and fifth parts of the original CP was condensed in the QS.

²⁷⁰ See Robert Proctor, "On Two Lyonnese Editions of the *Ars moriendi*," *Library*, 2d ser., No. 12, Vol. III (Oct., 1902). Courboin quotes Natalis Rondolt as identifying ID with Jean de Dale, but himself does not agree (*op. cit.*, I, 21). Dalbanne says that Jean de Dale and I.D. have nothing in common and suggests that the book was perhaps printed at Basel, ca. 1490 ("Lyon, Le Maitre I. D.," *Maso Finiguerra*, Milan, 1939, pp. 215-53). The cuts were once ascribed to Jean Daret and later to Jean Dymantier (Blum, *Les Origines*, II, 60).

focused on the details usually elaborated—the bed, the pillow (here in a flowered slip), and the devils, many of whom are cross-eyed, with spiked arms and with horrible animal faces upon their abdomens and chests.²⁷¹ The added cut, purely decorative, is a large “*Ars moriendi*” stamped upon a flowered background, with the inscription “*Cum orationibus pulcherrimis dicendis circa agonizantem.*” This cut has ID’s monogram.

As in so many of the typographic editions the order of the cuts is confused (TDe and IDe, always placed second, are between TAv and IAv), with consequent confusion in the text.

With the ID book may be noted another whose text is a very similar combination of the CP and the QS, and whose cuts are those of the Siber edition,²⁷² the *Ars moriendi* made at Lyons by Pierre Mareschal around 1518. The Pierpont Morgan Library has a fine example,²⁷³ the only two defects of which are the substitution of a second I Imp cut for IFa²⁷⁴ and some confusion in the assembling of the folios.

Two Latin editions of the CP text made in France in the fifteenth century, but not mentioned by the *Gesamtkatalog*, should be given at least brief notice. One was published by Hyman, or Higman, presumably at Paris in 1484, and is attributed to St. Albertus Magnus.²⁷⁵ The Newberry Library in Chicago has a copy. The other, a *Speculum artis bene moriendi perutilis*,²⁷⁶ was printed at Besançon in 1488, together with other ascetical treatises, notably the *Speculum humane vite* of Rodericus Zamorensis.²⁷⁷

The QS version in French printed by Boutellier at Lyons in 1488,²⁷⁸ which has the title *L’art et disposition de bien mourir*, Claudio calls the first French edition from movable type.²⁷⁹ The *Gesamtkatalog*,

²⁷¹ A female devil in TVg wears a hennepin, a touch suggesting the influence of the Siber cuts. Here the horns are sticking out, probably ID’s addition.

²⁷² GW 2574. ²⁷³ No. 1583, p. 145.

²⁷⁴ This kind of substitution, so common among the printed editions, was probably caused by the fact that one wood block of the set was missing.

²⁷⁵ This may be from a Dominican MS, since St. Thomas Aquinas’s famous hymn, “*Adoro te devote, latens Deitas*,” follows the *Ars moriendi* in this edition. There is also a second *Ars moriendi*, attributed to Robert du Val of Rouen, but it is not of the group which concerns us here. Pt. IV, “*Contemporary Books in Latin.*”

²⁷⁶ The title of the Quentell books printed at Cologne.

²⁷⁷ Successively bishop of Oviedo, Zamora, Calahorra, and Palencia. The other works in the book are chiefly “*Specula*” and are to a great extent those of the Louvain edition.

²⁷⁸ GW 2585. ²⁷⁹ *Op. cit.*, III, 444.

however, regards as the earliest French printing that made by Colard Mansion at Bruges.²⁸⁰ Two other statements in Claudin's description of the Boutellier are at variance with those of some later bibliographers, surprising because Claudin once owned the only existing copy: that the format is *petit-in-quarto*, although Hind says octavo;²⁸¹ that the text is CP,²⁸² although the *Gesamtkatalog* classifies the edition as QS.²⁸³ I am wondering whether here there may be a combination of the two versions; the cuts are those used in the Mareschal; perhaps the text is a translation of the combined Latin text of the Mareschal.²⁸⁴ André Blum reproduces two cuts, TImp and TVg.²⁸⁵ In Siber's French edition,²⁸⁶ which evidently is much like his Latin one,²⁸⁷ the cuts again appear.²⁸⁸

*The Vérard editions in French.*²⁸⁹—The French editions printed by the famous Parisian Antoine Vérard,²⁹⁰ as well as those made for him,²⁹¹ are among the most celebrated, and justly so, for they are among the most beautiful.

Besides the "Lart de bien mourir" section, the Vérard books all contain three other pieces: a "Lart de bien vivre,"²⁹² which might put the work into the compendium class;²⁹³ "Laguillon de crainte divine"; and "Ladvenement de antichrist."

The "Lart de bien mourir" section is a translation and elaboration of the Latin QS text, beginning:

Ont compille plusieurs traitez de contemplacion iouxte des consideracions de la mor. Et specialment vng duquel ie ignore le nom mais ay

²⁸⁰ GW 2584. ²⁸¹ *Op. cit.*, II, 615. The *Gesamtkatalog*, however, also says quarto.

²⁸² Claudin calls it a translation of the work of Matthew of Cracovia, i.e., a CP.

²⁸³ GW 2585. The page of text reproduced by Claudin (*op. cit.*, III, 444) contains the CP.

²⁸⁴ *Supra.* ²⁸⁵ *Les Origines de la gravure en France*, II, Nos. 164-65.

²⁸⁶ GW 2588. ²⁸⁷ GW 2574. See Claudin, *op. cit.*, III, 445.

²⁸⁸ For reproductions of the cuts of IVg and Dth, *ibid.*, pp. 445-46. The beautiful copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale was sold by the Duc de la Vallière in 1783.

²⁸⁹ Vérard made an edition of his own bad English translation (Pt. III, "Editions Printed in England").

²⁹⁰ For Vérard's work see John MacFarlane, *Antoine Vérard* (Printed for the Bibliographical Society), and Claudin, *op. cit.*, II, 385-506.

²⁹¹ The edition made by Pierre Le Rouge and Gillet Couteau with Jehan Ménard for Vérard (GW 2586) is in every way like Vérard's own printings. Le Rouge was printer to the king, 1487-1493. (Claudin, *op. cit.*, I, 455).

²⁹² The title is *Lart de bien vivre et bien mourir*.

²⁹³ In this part are discussed the seven sacraments, the twelve articles of faith, the Pater-noster, the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, and so forth. Vérard published an abridgment of the *Somme des vices et des vertus* (Pt. I, "Literary Forerunners").

trouue son liure intitule Ars moriendy commencement Quamvis secundum philozophum tercio ethicorum omnium terribilium &c . . . Cestuy liure iay regarde et considerant que a toutes gens de bien il est utile et conuenable pour ce que tous ne entendent pas completement le latin lay voulu translater de latin en françois.²⁹⁴

The translator, who is generally accepted as Guillaume Tardif, *lecteur* to Charles VIII²⁹⁵ and writer of some importance,²⁹⁶ has sacrificed the directness of the Latin text.²⁹⁷ A passage will illustrate his method:

QS text

Sed ut omnibus ista materia sit fructuosa et nullus ab ipsius speculatione secludantur sed inde mori salubriter discat tam littris tantum litterato deservientibus cunctorum oculis obicitur. Quae duo se mutuo correspondentes habent se tamquam speculum in quo preterita et futura tamquam presentia speculantur. Qui ergo bene mori velit ista cum sequentibus diligenter consideret.

Tardif's text

Mais affin que cests matiere soit fructueuse et vaillable a tous et que nulz ne soient seclus de la speculation dicelle mais en icelle apprennent toutes gens de quelque estat quilz soient a bien mourir. Jay traicte et Deduit ce livre en Deux facons lune a lautre correspondantes. Premier en sermons auctoritez et parabolles pour seruir aux gens clercs et literez Secondelement en figures et ymages montrant figuratiuement et deuant les yeulx ce que especulatiuement et par la lettre est Denote. Et ce ay fait pour seruir aux layques et gēs non litterez. Les Deux quelles choses sont comme Ung mireour ouquel trois choses p̄terites p̄sentes et futures sont speculees. Qui Donques vouldra bien mourir cōsidere les choses de uant dictes auecques les ensuyuates et les mette en son entendement.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁴ Guichard, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

²⁹⁵ Mâle, *L'Art religieux*, p. 382n. We have Tardif's own word that he was translator. (Courboin, *op. cit.*, I, 55). ²⁹⁶ He wrote a *Compendium eloquentiae*. See *GW* 2599.

²⁹⁷ Mâle, always the patriot, admired Tardif's French. It is "une langue grave, un françois déjà classique" (*L'Art religieux*, p. 382).

²⁹⁸ I have taken the French passage from Caillaut's edition (*supra*), which but for textual differences appears to correspond in every way to the Vérard.

Tardif's art of dying is much more a book of meditations than a handbook, and yet with the art itself he is much concerned, for his references to it are frequent, even in the parts of the work not directly dealing with death.²⁹⁹

The cuts in the "bien mourir" section of the Vérard books follow in general the designs of the block books, but change much in details and completely in spirit. Everything about them—physiognomy, costumes, furniture, architecture—has become French. More than that, they have taken on a French elegance, a French sophistication, quite different from the charming simplicity of the block-book pictures. Lost are the graceful folds of the angels' robes, and lost, too, in the somewhat conventionalized devils, much of the horror of the animal features.³⁰⁰ Instead, there is a frank spirit of Gallic mischief showing itself in such details as the beast heads which form the thighs of some of the devils, gripping the lower leg in their fangs.³⁰¹

Tardif has shifted TAv and IAv to third place, relegating vain-glory to the end. This change he has evidently made with full deliberation, for the text states that Satan tries complacence only when Moriens has resisted all other four temptations.³⁰²

Each of the Vérard editions contains, besides the *Ars moriendi* pictures, more than fifty other cuts, some of them large and very fine, especially those depicting the saints³⁰³ and the reception of the

²⁹⁹ In the discussion of the sacraments he says: ". . . qui veult bien viure et consequētemēt bie' mourir doit auoir les armeures necessaires & requises pour combatre dyable denfer . . ." The Vérard books throw more stress upon the need for the last sacraments than the English versions do, perhaps because the handbook purpose was absent. In the discussion of the theological virtues Tardif says of faith: ". . . pourtāt se nous voulons bie' viure et consequētemēt bie' mourir il nous fault garder la fay." It is strange that in the passages of the Latin original beginning with "Nota" or "Notandum est," in which the author makes some of his most emphatic utterances and offers some of his most pertinent quotations (Pt. I, "The Question of Priority"), Tardif says only something like: "Icy met lacteur De ce liure vng notable pour nous enseigner De nous disposer a la mort affin que par impatience et murmure contre Dieu" (quotations taken from Caillaut's edition).

³⁰⁰ See Mâle, *L'Art religieux*, p. 383. Levron, however, while admitting that some are less bestial in aspect, remarks on how well they have kept their old appearance (*op. cit.*, p. 68).

³⁰¹ Mâle has reproduced TDe, IDE, TImp, TVg, TAv, and Dth (*L'Art religieux*, pp. 382-87). Claudio has reproduced TDe, TImp, TVg (*op. cit.*, II, 439-41).

³⁰² This shifting is, of course, entirely logical. Peter van Os did the same thing (Pt. III, "Editions Printed in Holland"), and so did Peter Quentell with the *Spiegel der Seelen*. But in the cut corresponding to TVg the devils are giving Moriens only three crowns.

³⁰³ Each of the ten commandments is illustrated by the life of a saint.

sacraments.³⁰⁴ Many of the larger ones are surrounded by lovely borders with leaf and beast designs.

In many respects similar to the Vérard books is the edition made by Caillaut around 1501.³⁰⁵ The *Ars moriendi* cuts are almost exact copies of those in the earlier work. The smaller copies are less close copies of the Vérard, and the sacrament cuts do not appear at all. The example in the Morgan Library, apparently the only one in existence, is among the most beautiful of its numerous incunabula.

French editions of the sixteenth century.—The Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich has a thirty-four page CP in Latin, for which Paris, 1501, have been given as tentative locale and date. The printing is attributed, also tentatively, to Alexandro de Milan.³⁰⁶ The title is *Tractatus de arte bene vivendi et bene moriendi*.³⁰⁷ With almost the same title³⁰⁸ is an octavo in the John Rylands Library at Manchester, made in Rouen, possibly in 1510.³⁰⁹ The cuts used by Siber, Bouteillier, and Mareschal made what was probably their last appearance in an edition printed by Jacques Moderne around 1530.³¹⁰

Throughout the sixteenth century the Vérard book seems to have remained popular: Henri Pacquot made one printing at Paris (ca. 1535);³¹¹ J. Creuel, another at Rouen around 1580, containing all the added pieces; Johan Trepperel and Johan Iehannot, a third, at Paris, about the date of which no conclusion has been reached.³¹²

³⁰⁴ Claudio reproduces several (*op. cit.*, II, 431 ff.). The seven pains of hell, inflicted for the commission of the seven deadly sins, as described in the house of Simon the Leper by Lazarus after his resuscitation, are pictured in a series of small cuts, painfully realistic. The proud are strapped to revolving wheels. Gluttons have lizards forced down their throats or are made to eat their own tongues roasted in hell fire.

³⁰⁵ *GW*, Vol. II, col. 718. Since the book is supposedly after 1500, the description is incomplete.

³⁰⁶ *Gesamtkatalog der Preussischen Bibliotheken*, VII, 445; later volumes of this work have the title *Deutscher Gesamtkatalog*.

³⁰⁷ Note that from the French editions the "bien vivre" section is rarely absent.

³⁰⁸ "Beneque" instead of "et bene."

³⁰⁹ *Catalogue of the Printed Books and Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library at Manchester*, I, 87. ³¹⁰ Called "Grand Jacques." See Claudio, *op. cit.*, III, 446.

³¹¹ Fairfax Sale Catalogue (1917) II (No. 40) 10.

³¹² Probably not of the *Ars moriendi* group but perhaps allied to it is the "exhortacion de bien vivre et bien mourir," a part of a 1519 edition of *La Grant danse macabre*. The same work is to be found at the end of a *Livre de consolations contre toutes tribulations*, printed by Chansard (or Chaussard?) at Lyons in 1532 (Rothschild, *Catalogue des livres composant le bibliothèque de feu M. le Baron James de Rothschild*, I, 354, No. 541, Pt. 11) and in two MSS in the Bibliothèque Nationale. In 1648 a work with the title *Le Art de bien vivre heureusement mourir* was printed in Paris, but I have cause to suppose this a translation of the

EDITIONS PRINTED IN ITALY³¹³CP Version³¹⁴

LATIN

GW No.	Printer	Place	Date	Size	Folios	Woodcuts	Copies Extant
592 ³¹⁵	Arnold von Brüsel	Naples	1476	4°	28	None	3
2600	[Johann Schurener]	[Rome]	[1476]	4°	20	None	3
2601	Ratdolt, Maler, and Löslein	Venice	1478	4°	20	None	8

ITALIAN

2618	[Baldassare Azzoguidi]	[Bologna]	[ca. 1471/75]	4°	16	None	1
2619 ³¹⁶	Apud S. Jacobum de Ripoli	[Florence]	1477	4°	30	None	5
2620	[Ratdolt, Maler, and Löslein]	[Venice]	1478	4°	24	None	4
2621	[Giovanni and Alberti Avise]	Verona	1478	4°	32	None	3
2622	[Apud S. Jacobum de Ripoli]	[Florence]	[1479]	4°	24	None	3
2623	Pachel and Scinzenzelli	Milan	1480	8°	32	None	1
2624	Francisco di Dino	Florence	1487	4°	32	None	4
2625	Francisco di Dino	Florence	1487/88	4°	32	None	8
2626	Francisco di Dino	Florence	1488/89	4	32	None	7
2627	[Printer of the <i>Ars moriendi</i>] ³¹⁷	[Florence]	[ca. 1490]	4	20	None	2
2628	Klein and Himmel	[Venice]	1490	4°	26	12	4
2629	Franciscus dictus Plato de Benedictis	Bologna	1491	4°	10	None	2 ³¹⁸
2630		[Venice]	[ca. 1500]	4°	30	14	1 ³¹⁹

GW, Vol. II, col. 736, adds, without number, a 4° edition in Italian made at [Florence] by [Bartolomeo de Libri] probably in the sixteenth century.

Latin treatise on dying by St. Robert Bellarmine (see Georgi, *Allgemeines europäisches Bücher Lexicon*, V, 21. See also Pt. IV, "Later Catholic Books in Latin").

³¹³ No QS editions were made in Italy either in Latin or in the vernacular.

³¹⁴ All the Italian editions, and only the Italian editions, are printed in Roman type.

³¹⁵ Attributed to St. Albertus Magnus.

³¹⁶ GW 2619, 2622, and 2624-28 are attributed to Cardinal Capranica. 2628 is the only non-Florentine ed. to carry this attribution.

³¹⁷ Miss Stillwell says tentatively that the printer here is Simon de Gabis of Bevilacqua and Venice. See her list of incunabula, Aq89.

³¹⁸ There are copies in the Newberry Library and the library of the Columbia Medical Center.

³¹⁹ The GW says that the unique copy is in Milan, but there is one in the Metropolitan Museum.

A copy of an Italian edition [Rome: Gensberg, 1473], owned and annotated by Philip Melanchthon, was sold at auction, May, 1835.³²⁰

Editions in Latin.—I have had no opportunity to examine any of the three editions in Latin. From the catalogues there is no reason to suppose that there is anything remarkable about them.

Editions in Italian.—Neither am I able to add much to the *Gesamtkatalog* description of the *Tractato utilissimo de larte del ben mourire*, printed at Bologna in 1491,³²¹ although I have handled copies of it in the Columbia Medical Center Library and in the Newberry Library in Chicago. It is simply the CP text in Italian. And in the Morgan Library there is a 1478 book of Venetian origin,³²² completely undistinguished except for the fact that it once belonged to William Morris.

Of more unusual kind is the Venetian edition of 1490³²³ in the Metropolitan Museum, the only fifteenth-century non-Florentine *Ars moriendi* to be attributed to the Cardinal of Fermo. The text is a highly intelligent combination of the CP and QS versions with the CP predominating.³²⁴ The cuts, among the few Italian pictures without borders,³²⁵ are based upon those of the block books.³²⁶ The changes are not striking—a different costume here, there an added figure or crown—except in TAv and IAv, where the whole spirit becomes Renaissance.³²⁷

³²⁰ See the catalogue of the library of Dr. Kloss, London, p. 25, No. 835.

³²¹ GW 2629. The printer is the Franciscus with the flattering title "Plato de Benedictis."

³²² GW 2620 (Morgan check list [1939] No. 850. ³²³ GW 2628.

³²⁴ There is none of the foolish overlapping and repetition of the two Lyons editions. The QS material has been worked into the CP temptations in an effective and logical way. Throughout the five temptations his scheme for combining is uniform: With matter from the CP he makes clear the nature and gravity of the evil proposed, but for the temptation itself turns to the QS for the devil's very words. The translator has evidently detected and corrected the flaw of the QS—the tendency of the text to answer the temptation before the angel appears with the contrary inspiration.

³²⁵ An added cut of layfolk going to confession has borders (See the Leipzig eds., *supra*). Mr. Ivins, who finds it more Florentine than Venetian, remarks that it appears in a Florentine *Specchio de conscientiis* of 1495 (BMMA, XVIII, 234-35).

³²⁶ Possibly on Xyl. IX or Xyl. XIII, since behind the bed in TImp there is an added devil, with, however, the head of a cow instead of that of a bird.

³²⁷ Mr. Ivins says of the maid of TImp that she "has undergone a deep-sea change from a Dutch housewife to a person of the type that Carpaccio loved to make pictures of" (*ibid.*, p. 235). Pollard calls the cuts here a good example of the intelligent, if not very original, adaptation of the old German cuts by Venetian artists (*Old Picture Books*, p. 93).

Miss Stillwell evidently does not know this book; in fact she mentions none of the Metropolitan incunabula.

Of the six Florentine fifteenth-century editions attributed to Cardinal Capranica I have seen only the one made by Francisco di Dino around 1487.³²⁸ The old title here becomes *Questa operecta tracta dell'arte del ben morire cioè in gratia di dio*, and there are added the *exemplum* of the Pope and his chaplain, extra prayers, and some Italian verses.³²⁹ The book is otherwise ordinary enough, although it was apparently popular, for in addition to the two later printings listed in the *Gesamtkatalog*, it was twice reprinted after an interval, once at Milan in 1499 and again in 1539 at Venice, with the title *Dell'arte, e modo di morire in grazia di Dio*.³³⁰

An *Ars moriendi* is one of the added contents of the *Compendio devotissimo* of Ubertino da Busti, printed by Jacobus de Sancto Nazario at Milan, 1496. There is a copy in the Henry Huntington Library.³³¹

Sixteenth-century editions: Some of the most interesting of the Italian editions, since they were made after 1500, are not noted by the *Gesamtkatalog* and other bibliographies. One of them, a book printed by Johann Battista Sessa at Venice in 1503, has the title of the Di Dino editions and is, like them, attributed to Capranica. A fine example is in the Spencer Collection in the New York Public Library.³³²

The text is the adroit combination of QS and CP that appeared in the Venetian edition of 1490, *GW* 2628. The cuts, however, are more Florentine than Venetian—are, according to Mr. Küp, typical of the coarse development of fifteenth-century Florentine introduced into

³²⁸ There is a copy in the Newberry Library in Chicago.

³²⁹ The verses, thirty-two lines long and to be found in several of the Italian editions, begin:

Io sono la uita de cristiani fedeli
Che gli conduco agli superni cieli
Et la memoria mia che tanto schura
Dolce a chi viue cola mente pura . . .

and they end:

Tu attendi tanto al tuo gran peccare
Che tu non credi già mai mal finire
Vero in un puncto che non lo crederai
Torrocti la vita el fuoco tenandrai.

³³⁰ See Nicola Haym, *Biblioteca italiana*, Pt. IV, p. 209.

³³¹ Mead, *op. cit.*, No. 3549. See also Proctor, 6048.5.

³³² See the article of Mr. Karl Küp, curator of the Spencer Collection, "An Italian Edition of the *Ars moriendi*," *BNYPL*, XXXIX (Dec., 1935), 927-30.

Venice by imported woodcutters from Florence.³³³ The old block-book pictures have been copied,³³⁴ with added detail in the solid black that the Florentines used so lavishly,³³⁵ and have been put into Florentine black borders.³³⁶

The last Italian edition that I have seen, a beautiful Florentine printing of 1513³³⁷ attributed to Cardinal Capranica, is that rare thing, a CP text with illustrations.³³⁸ From these cuts all traces of the Flemish are completely replaced by the sensibility to form and the grace that we associate with the Florence of the Renaissance.³³⁹ The costumes and furnishings have become Renaissance, and the architecture, what little there is of it in any of the *Ars moriendi* pictures, has ceased to be the Gothic that the Italians so despised. Solid black is used generously. The angels, quite without the statuesqueness of the block-book figures on the one hand and the bustling quality of

³³³ *Ibid.*, p. 930. The Sessas were known to have imported these Florentines into their printing houses. As Mr. Ivins puts it ("Artistic Aspects of Fifteenth Century Printing," *PBSA*, XXVI, 36), Venice was at the cross-roads of the earth, and cuts from printing houses in other localities had a way of turning up in Venetian books; and W. D. Orcutt adds, that "Venice, although a Mecca of printers and center of the new art, can claim little in the way of originality" (*The Book in Italy during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, p. 52).

³³⁴ With some changes, such as the position of St. Paul in IDe and the omission of the children from TVg. A beast (with a cow head, as in the 1490 ed.) in TImp suggests that the model was Xyl. IX or XIII, but the presence of the boy at the cask in TAv points to EP or Xyl. IIC. The statement of the catalogue made by Sotheby for the Henry Huth sale in London (1911, p. 70), that this edition probably was the last to contain the block-book pictures is palpably false. The last Walasser edition was printed in 1688. (See Pt. III "Editions Printed in Germany").

³³⁵ Mr. Küp says that more use was made of black in the Sessa book than was usual at Venice (*BNYPL*, XXXIX, 930).

³³⁶ The variety that all cutters of *Ars moriendi* illustrations so loved appears in the motifs in the borders and in the designs of the black and white tiled floors. On the subject of this Sessa edition, see Prince D'Essling, *Etudes sur l'art de la gravure sur bois à Venise, les livres figures vénitiens de la fin du XV^e siècle et du commencement du XVI^e*, No. 272. Prince d'Essling makes much of an *r* that has intruded itself into the scroll of one of the devils in Tfa: "Infernus factus est" has become "Infernus fractus est," making for Moriens victory of defeat. Since this is a temptation picture, the insertion of the *r* can hardly have been intentional. See *supra*, "The Xylographic Editions."

³³⁷ No printer has been identified for this edition, unless No. C. 37. E. 46. in the British Museum, published in 1513 and attributed to F. Giunta of Florence, is another copy (*BMC*, VI, 685).

³³⁸ It is not surprising that the Italian printers ignored the QS text, which was to be found almost exclusively in the block books. No Italian eye would be attracted by the rude woodcuts of the "Gothic" North. Whenever they were used in Italy, they were transformed.

³³⁹ Mr. Ivins finds the early cuts, in comparison with the Italian, "charming in provincial quaintness," but "incompetent as art," without any "monumental quality" or "feeling of either space or relief" (*PBSA*, XXVI, 19).

those in the late German cuts on the other,³⁴⁰ are reminiscent of Botticelli.³⁴¹ The devils, however, have changed only to become more conventional, with horns, wings, and claw feet.

Faithfully following *Ars moriendi* precedent, the cuts show variety (in the now bearded, now beardless Moriens, in his black skull cap, in the changes from cut to cut in doors, window, and ceiling)³⁴² and confusion (IVg is omitted altogether, and TImp has somehow been pushed forward between IFa and TDe).³⁴³

The cuts occupy not more than five-eighths of the page. Some are placed high upon it, and some low. All have simple black borders. Added are two deathbed scenes, not unlike the *Ars moriendi* pictures, taken from Savonarola's *Arte del ben morire*,³⁴⁴ and more than twenty small ones of inferior merit, depicting for the most part the life of Our Lord, especially His Crucifixion. Five or six of them are several times repeated.

In the Metropolitan Museum of Art, where I have examined this edition, there is a second book almost identical with it and ascribed tentatively to L. Morgiani and J. Petri and dated 1495.

La historia del iudicio del figliolo de dio Jesu Christo.—Although classified by the *Gesamtkatalog* as a CP,³⁴⁵ the *Historia del iudicio del figliolo de dio Jesu Christo* is almost too free a rendering of the original text to be called an edition. Temptations, interrogations, prayers are there, but they are handled independently of the original text. There are omissions, interpolations, substitutions, and rearrangements, together with a shift of emphasis from the act of dying to the judgment of the soul after death.³⁴⁶ In the cuts, crude copies of those of the

³⁴⁰ As in the *Spiegel der Seelen*, Pt. III, "Editions Printed in Germany."

³⁴¹ Mr. Ivins says that the Florentine cuts have the qualities of color and pictorial composition inseparable from the great Florentine painters. "Without Botticelli and his fellows these minor works of art could not have existed" (*PBSA*, XXVI, 39).

³⁴² All the details of the rooms, however, remain Renaissance in style.

³⁴³ The scrolls of this edition are empty. Can it be possible that the printers' failure to assemble correctly the pages of these incunabula came of their inability to recognize the meaning of the cuts?

³⁴⁴ Pt. IV, "Contemporary Books in Italian." ³⁴⁵ *GW* 2628.

³⁴⁶ Not one, but two temptations are directed against the faith of Moriens, the second "la illusione e false demonstratione de lo demonio per la idolatria cōtra la fede uera christiana." No inspiration appears until after the third temptation, which is against hope. Instead of a temptation to vainglory there is simply an inspiration, or *remedio*, to counteract it. The interrogations are new, not in matter, but in order and expression. Quotations from the Fathers are omitted. The book ends with a section called "La historia de li signi

block books, the scrolls are empty and the order so badly confused³⁴⁷ that even one familiar with the *Ars moriendi* cannot readily interpret them. In the Metropolitan Museum copy³⁴⁸ confusion is increased by the absence of ten of the thirty folios.³⁴⁹ Two cuts are added—one the Pietà, the other the Crucifixion.

Orcutt reproduces the first page of text from a Latin CP, printed by Vincenzo Berruerio at Piedmont in 1510,³⁵⁰ but nowhere else have I found mention of this edition.

One Peter Luca is named by Father Hurter as an exceedingly holy and learned man and the author of a *Dottrina del ben morire*, printed at Venice in 1529.³⁵¹ According to the *Short-title Catalogue*, *A dialogue of dying wel*, by a man of the same name, was translated, perhaps by R. Verstegan, and printed in octavo at Antwerp in 1603.³⁵²

Mazzatinti speaks of an edition printed at Venice in 1578.³⁵³

EDITIONS PRINTED IN SPAIN³⁵⁴

CP Version

GW No.	Printer	Place	Date	Size	Folios	Woodcuts	Copies Extant
2633	[Hans Hurus]	[Saragossa]	[ca. 1489]	4°	48	11	1

QS Version

2591 ³⁵⁵	[Printer of Turrecremata] ³⁵⁶	[Saragossa]	1493	4°	32	11	1
2592 ³⁵⁷	Spindeler	Valencia	1497	4°	34	11	2
2593	[Paul Hurus]	[Saragossa]	[ca. 1483]	4°	36	11	1

li quale debino uegnire inanzi lo ultimo iudicio di jesu christo," followed by "De la resurrectione," "De lo ultimo iudicio di dio," and "De la ultima sentencia di dio."

³⁴⁷ The order is TVg, TDe, IFa, IDE, TImp, TAv, IAv, the Crucifixion, the Pietà, Dth, IVg, IImp. In the Metropolitan copy the cuts for TAv, IAv, IImp, are missing, but I have seen them in the reproductions of Prince d'Essling (*op. cit.*, Nos. 271, 1286). TAv is strangely empty of detail: only a coffer is at the foot of the bed, and a few relatives of Moriens are at the side. The IImp cut he classifies under a work in which it also appeared, *Historia del piissimo monte de la pietade* (s.l.a. & n.t., but Venetian). The TImp cut suggests a connection with the Venice, 1490, ed. and the Sessa ed., since the extra devil with the cow face is at the head of the bed.

³⁴⁸ Supposed by its owners, Heber, Yemeniz, and Huth, to be unique until Prince d'Essling found at Milan the copy which he has described, and which is of the same printing (Ivins, *BMMA*, XVIII, 234). ³⁴⁹ GW says that there are 30 folios.

³⁵⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 170, Pl. 195.

³⁵¹ *Nomenclator litterarius*, II, 1561.

³⁵² Supplement to *STC*, p. 86, No. 19815. Peter seems to have come from Saazerkreis, near Prague. ³⁵³ *Op. cit.*, XXXVIII, 150-51.

³⁵⁴ No Latin editions were made in Spain.

³⁵⁵ The text is in Catalan.

³⁵⁶ Perhaps another link between the *Ars moriendi* and the Dominicans.

³⁵⁷ The text is in Catalan.

Examples of the Spanish editions, like those of the French and the Netherlandish are rare. The Societat Catalana d' Bibliofils, however, has made a facsimile of the first thirty-five pages of a unique copy in the Biblioteca de Catalunya in Barcelona.³⁵⁸ The text is an almost exact, though somewhat diffuse, translation of the Latin QS. Here and there it is swelled by small additions, neither striking in their nature nor particularly important.³⁵⁹ Konrad Haebler first ascribed this edition to Juan Rosenberg, Barcelona,³⁶⁰ but he since has changed the ascription to Paul Hurus in Saragossa.³⁶¹ The colophon of the facsimile reprint says "Valencia, 1481(?)". Probably the GW collation is 2591.³⁶²

The Catalan woodcutter was not moved by patriotism as were the French and the Italian xylographers, for he reproduces quite faithfully the German cuts of Xyl. X.³⁶³ Apparently the same cuts were used in the other editions made at Saragossa, if one is to judge by the reproductions of them in Vindel³⁶⁴ and Haebler.³⁶⁵

M. Guichard describes another Spanish edition, without date, place, or printer, made of a version of the *Ars moriendi* written by Rhodericus Fernandez de Santa Ella, almoner of Queen Isabella and canon of Seville (d. 1509). The text, which devotes much space to the reception by Moriens of penance and the other sacraments, is divided into eleven parts, among them all the divisions of the CP.³⁶⁶

³⁵⁸ Printed by Fidel Giro, Barcelona, 1905. Cornell and Harvard both have copies. That at Cornell is catalogued as a facsimile of the Valencia edition of 1491. I can find no record of any such edition.

³⁵⁹ For example, the translator is careful to tell the reader in his Preface that his work is turned "de lati en romanc per instrucio e doctrina deses personnes no sabents lo lati."

³⁶⁰ *Bibliografia ibérica del siglo XV*, II, No. 37 (5), 13.

³⁶¹ *Geschichte des spanischen Frühdruckes in Stammbäumen*, 281n.

³⁶² Facsimiles of four pages are given in Comín, *Bibliografía de la lengua valenciana*, I, 172-79.

³⁶³ But much more skillfully than those in the Weissenberger editions.

³⁶⁴ Vindel, *Manual gráfico-descriptivo del Bibliófilo Hispano-American* (1475-1850), I, 189. The cuts are reproduced from GW 2593.

³⁶⁵ Haebler, *Geschichte des spanischen Frühdruckes in Stammbäumen*, p. 283. Lyell says that Hans Hurus was a German who had come to Spain from Constance (*Early Book Illustration in Spain*, 31), a statement that would strengthen the contention that the cuts of Xyl. X originated in the vicinity of Constance. Weitenkampf discusses the importation of French, German, Italian, and Lowland cuts into Spain, evidently the least creative of the countries where incunabula were produced (*op. cit.*, p. 66).

³⁶⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 302-3. See also Dutuit, *op. cit.*, I, 69. Dutuit calls the book a compilation.

EDITIONS PRINTED IN ENGLAND

CP Version³⁶⁷

GW No.	Printer	Place	Date	Size	Folios	Woodcuts	Copies Extant
2615	[Caxton]	[Westminster]	1490	2°	14	None	4 ³⁶⁸
2616	Pynson	[London]	[ca. 1495]	4°	16	None	1 ³⁶⁹
2634	[Caxton]	[Westminster]	[1491]	4°	8	None	1 ³⁷⁰
2635	Wynkyn de Worde	[Westminster]	[1497]	4°	8	2	1 ³⁷¹

Caxton I.—The longer Caxton edition (GW 2615), here to be designated as Caxton I, has the following *Incipit*: “Here begynneth a lityll treatise shorte and abredged spekyng of the arte & crafte to knowe well to dye Whan it is soo that what a man maketh or doeth it is made to come to some ende And yf the thynge be goode and well made it must nedes come to good ēde.” The colophon throws some light upon the origin of Caxton’s text: “Thus endeth the trayttee abredged of the arte to lerne well to deye translated oute of frenshe in to englysshe by Willm Caxton the xv. day of Juyn the yere of our lord a MiiijClxxxx.” The CP version in French is extant in only one edition,³⁷² but in several MSS.³⁷³

A comparison of Caxton I with the *Crafte of Dyeing* shows interesting, although not striking, differences. In the opening paragraph all stress on the “cunning,” the “clergie,” to be learned for the last moments of life goes by the board, and we find the purpose of the book set forth in a curious *non-sequitur*: “Every man ought to live well so that he may die well; but since in these days there are so few to teach him to die even if he be old and sick, he ought to learn the method himself while he has health and the use of his wits.” At the end of the work, after the prayers, Caxton includes a passage found in many continental MSS and editions of the CP, but absent from the *Crafte*,³⁷⁴ urging every man to “take hede to pouruey him for to come

³⁶⁷ The English *Ars moriendi* was always in English and with the CP version for its basis.

³⁶⁸ BM; BN; Rylands Library, Manchester; Bodleian (with the last page missing).

³⁶⁹ Glasgow.

³⁷⁰ Bodleian.

³⁷¹ Manchester, John Rylands Library.

³⁷² GW 2617.

³⁷³ Miss Nellie Aurner makes much of the influence of Burgundy upon Caxton, especially the Flemish section of it. William Blades, says she, has traced every one of his books from a source outside England to the libraries of Bruges (*Caxton: Mirror of Fifteenth-century Letters*, 2 ff., 206).

³⁷⁴ Miss Comper sees in Caxton’s inclusion of the lines a connection with Gerson’s *Opusculum* (*op. cit.*, p. 89). This passage is in many MSS of the *Ars moriendi* CP version and is given also at the close of the QS text.

to a goode ende whilys that he hath tyme and leyzer." "To this," he continues, "myght moche wele serue a felawe & trewe frende deuoute and convenable, whiche in his laste ende assyste hym truly."³⁷⁵

Though Caxton does not omit the quotation from Aristotle regarding bodily death, which Weigel considered so important,³⁷⁶ there is no hint of its pagan origin; and it is followed by a line from Plato, the Christian nature of which could never arouse controversy.³⁷⁷ Perhaps this substitution may be taken as an indication of the eclipse of Aristotle by Plato, which the Renaissance was to make complete, or at least of the emergence of Plato as a sturdy pagan prop of Christianity.³⁷⁸ He is quoted a second time at the end of Caxton's first chapter, and his utterance is the principle of the martyrs and the whole soul of Christian ethics: "To this purpose sayth the philosopher that naturel reason well conseyllyd iudgeth that ye goode deth ought better to be chosen than the euyl lyfe And that one ought sōner to chose bodily deth than doe ony thyng ayenst the wele of vertue."³⁷⁹

The fact that Caxton was abridging his original, perhaps with a view to making his conduct book for English gentlemen the more compendious, accounts for some of his omissions. Scriptural and patristic quotations have all but disappeared, and the ascriptions are too few to mention. Much of the comment, moreover, has gone also, leaving only simple directions. Otherwise there is about his condensing nothing systematic, no scheme like that which guided the fashioneer of the QS text,³⁸⁰ consequently the transitions are often abrupt, and the tendency to incoherence is strong. Now and then he omits a repetitious element,³⁸¹ but apparently without any artistic conscious-

³⁷⁵ But the dispositions of the dying man are more important than his friend's help.

³⁷⁶ Pt. I, "The Question of Priority."

³⁷⁷ "Contynuell remembrance of the deth is souerayn wysedom."

³⁷⁸ The German translation of the *Cordiale* has this quotation in the introductory section. "Dann Plato spricht: Die höchst weisheit ist leren wol sterben."

³⁷⁹ *The Apology of Socrates*. The *Dialogues* translated by Benjamin Jowett, III, 122. Bishop Coverdale quotes Euripides on death: It is better to live ill than to die well (*Treatise on Death*, ed. for the Parker Society, Cambridge, 1846, No. 22, p. 54). The passage quoted is from *Iphigenia in Aulide*, vv. 1250-52. For Bishop Coverdale's treatise, Pt. IV, "Post-Reformation Books in English." ³⁸⁰ Pt. I, "The Question of Priority."

³⁸¹ For example, in *TImp* he does not say so often as the Latin CP and the *Crafte* do that impatience is a sign of lack of charity.

ness, for he elsewhere misses obvious opportunities for improvement.³⁸²

In style his work is inferior to the earlier *Crafte of Dyeng*. The *Crafte*, although in a lesser degree than Rolle and Walter Hilton and the *Cloud of Unknowing*, has some of the dignified, unpretentious prose style of the English devotional writing of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which, according to Professor R. W. Chambers,³⁸³ by preserving the tradition of Alfred and Aelfric in works "designed for lonely anchorholds and quiet nunneries," kept it safe from the noxious influence of French verse and passed it along to the sixteenth century, making the prose of St. Thomas More not the miracle it seems. Caxton's *Ars moriendi* is an example of his execrable habit of "augmenting" his original. It is full of the tautological coupling of robust Anglo-Saxon words with their Romance synonyms—"maladyes and sekenesses," "iniquyte or wyckednes," "love and charyte," "murmur and grutche,"³⁸⁴ the "hed inclyned and bowed," "digne or worthy," "herted and encoraged," "ancyente or olde," "wretchednes and tribulacyons"—by which Caxton tried to "satisfye euery man."³⁸⁵ Often where the *Crafte* is homely and direct, Caxton is circumlocutory or pedantic:

The Crafte of Dyeing

Exorte hym also þat he be stronge
in his soule ayenst oþer tempta-
cions . . . *YW*, II, 416

... seint Gregori also holsomly
agasted þe monke þat was a pro-
prietarie . . . *YW*, II, 417

... deceyued hem-silfe everlast-
ingly . . . *YW*, II, 418

*Caxton's Arte and Crafte to
Knowe Well to Dye*

He ought also to be admonested to
be coraged and stronge ayenst all
other temptacyons there declared
...

... saynt gregore whan he fered
holsomly his monke for his pro-
pryte whiche was constytuted in
thartycle of deth . . .

... deceyved theymselfe and boun-
den theymselfe in abydyng the last
necessyte . . .

³⁸² He does not, as the QS author does, see that unwillingness to give up wife, children, and friends is part of the temptation to attachment.

³⁸³ "The Continuity of English Prose from Alfred to More and His School," introductory essay to Harpsfield's *Life of Sir Thomas More* (EETS 186, OS).

³⁸⁴ This particular coupling crops out again as late as 1648 in Crashaw's poem "Music's Duel," ll. 128-29. ³⁸⁵ See Byles, *The Library*, 4th ser., XV (No. 1, June, 1934), 12.

... to haue a herte & a soule euer
redy vp to godward ... *YW*, II,
408

... schalbe mo[r]e quiete & sure
... *YW*, II, 416

... to have in all tymes his herte
redy and appareyled to thynges
hevenly & supernall

... be better apeased and more
assurid ...

In Caxton many of the words and phrases with the good, plain smell of English about them disappear or are Frenchified: Moriens no longer "laboreth to his endeward"; men are not advised to send for spiritual³⁸⁶ help "withoute . . . longe tarr[i]ngis"; the devil is not called "a lyar & fader of all lesyngis"; sick men are not to "styfflye & stedfastly abyde & perseuyr"; the art of dying is not to be learned for the "hele of mannys soule"; God no longer "yeuyth us grace to withstand myȝtly, manly & perseverantly." "Hell houndes" become "hounes infernall"; "such other" becomes "semblable"; "schreven of," "confessyd"; "semynge owtward," "by semblaunt"; "flaterynge," "blaundysshynge dyssolucyons."³⁸⁷

The copy of Caxton I in the British Museum was owned by George III from March, 1776,³⁸⁸ and was acquired by the Museum in 1829.³⁸⁹ A facsimile was made in London, 1875, and sold by the "Assigns of Edward Lumley, deceased." About Richard Pynson's edition of the text there is nothing remarkable.

Caxton II: The "lyt迤l treatyse schortely compyled and called ars moriendi that is to saye the craft for to deye for the helthe of mannes sowle"³⁹⁰ is very shortly compiled indeed, for it is not a quarter as long as Caxton I. Miss Comper regards it as an abridgment of Caxton I, but inasmuch as many points included are not in Caxton I,³⁹¹ it seems to me an abridgment of a CP original. All the divisions of the CP are there, although Part V is transferred to a place immediately

³⁸⁶ Strange to say, Caxton uses "ghostly" instead of "spiritual."

³⁸⁷ It should be remembered that Caxton's edition may be considerably later than the *Crafte of Dyeng*, and that some of the abbreviations and additions remarked above may have been in his French source.

³⁸⁸ According to the flyleaf.

³⁸⁹ Ricci, *A Census of Caxtons*, Nos. 6, 10.

³⁹⁰ The *Incipit* is: "Whan any of lykyhode shal deye thenne is moste necessarye to haue a specyall frende the whiche wyll hertly helpe and praye for hym . . ." The *Explicit*: "That god hath pmySED trust it well withou defallacyon. In hope abydyng his reward and eu'lastyng glorie. Amen. Explicit."

³⁹¹ For example, quotations from Sts. Jerome and Augustine with ascriptions, also a verse and response from the Psalms. Cf. Comper, pp. 16-17 with p. 95; p. 31 with p. 97.

following the introduction,³⁹² perhaps because the work was intended primarily as a conduct book for the faithful friend of the dying man. To such a friend every sentence seems to have been written. Even the temptations are made part of an exhortation which he is to deliver to Moriens.³⁹³

It may not be amiss to suppose that Caxton used Gerson here also. The text begins as Gerson's does with a passage on the value of the friend, followed by a reminder—again like Gerson—of the benefits of God. No other edition contains this arrangement of material or even mentions God's bounties. Not from Gerson are other additions to the CP text: several suggestions that the Blessed Virgin be appealed to as patroness of the dying; prayers in preparation for Viaticum; a list of devotional acts by which venial sin is omitted; the three “verities” which will lead the sinner to amendment of his life; an explanation of the doctrine of perfect contrition for remission of mortal sin; a warning that confession, even to the Pope, will not remit the sins of one not contrite. None of this material appears in any other version or edition.³⁹⁴

The unique copy in the Bodleian Library, given with a great many other books by the eighteenth-century antiquary Thomas Tanner, bishop of St. Asaph's, is badly cut down.³⁹⁵ In some parts the type is worn away, as in a “withou” in the *Explicit*. A facsimile was made in London in January, 1869, and another (London, 1891) by Edward W. B. Nicholson.

Wynkyn de Worde's printing of the text of Caxton II is,³⁹⁶ according to Mr. Blades, the only other reprint known in any language. In

³⁹² In transferring his material Caxton (or perhaps the author of his source, if he had one) nodded a little, for he refers to prayers “afore rehearsed,” although no prayers have been given.

³⁹³ Why Caxton omitted TAv altogether is not clear. The reason might be the slimness of the TAv matter in the CP text, or his feeling that men about to die are not troubled by thoughts of tangible things. It might be conjectured that he used as an original a text representing a stage of the CP containing only four temptations.

³⁹⁴ The last pages of the book are taken up with a “synguler prayer to be sayde in the fest of the dedyacyon of ony chirche” (strange inclusion!) and lists of the degrees of humility, obedience, patience, and charity.

³⁹⁵ See Mr. Nicholson's introduction to his facsimile, p. 6.

³⁹⁶ GW 2635. It has woodcuts on recto and verso of title page (*Catalogue of the John Rylands Library*, p. 5).

the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, D. C., however, I have found a later edition of the Caxton II version not mentioned by the *Short-title Catalogue*.³⁹⁷ In the Folger copy only six of the eight folios remain,³⁹⁸ and the binding, if there was one, is missing. The format is slightly smaller than that of the Caxton II facsimile.³⁹⁹

A woodcut of St. John the Evangelist on the title page is the clue to the identity of the printer, probably Robert Wyer (fl. 1529?–1560?), who used it in several of the many books turned out by his press (at the Sign of St. John the Evangelist at Charing Cross).⁴⁰⁰ H. R. Plomer, in his contribution to the hand list of English printers of the first half of the sixteenth century, issued by the Bibliographical Society,⁴⁰¹ credits Wyer with an *Ars moriendi* in duodecimo,⁴⁰² a copy of which was in a “private library.” Evidently this was the book which the Folger Library received in 1938 as part of the collection of Sir Leicester Harmsworth. No one seems to have noted that it contains the version of the *Ars moriendi* made by Caxton in the year of his death.

Sixteenth-century editions in English.—The sixteenth-century editions in English derive from neither the *Crafte of Dyeng* nor the Caxton versions. Their source is the *Lart de bien vivre et bien mourir* printed by Antoine Vérard [Paris, 1493].⁴⁰³

The first, *The book Intytulyd The Art of good lyvynge & good deyng* [1503], is a bad translation, probably made, according to the *Short-title Catalogue*, by Vérard himself, but according to the colophon by

³⁹⁷ A *Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of English Books Printed in the Early Sixteenth Century*. Here to be designated as *STC*.

³⁹⁸ The folios missing are B₁ and B₄.

³⁹⁹ The spelling, punctuation, and typography are quite different from Caxton's. The prayer for the dedication of “ony chirche” is omitted.

⁴⁰⁰ H. R. Plomer says that Wyer may be described as a printer for the populace, most of whose work consisted of small octavos on popular subjects (*Wynkyn de Worde and His Contemporaries*, p. 228). See account of Wyer in *DNB*, XXI, 1138–39. Apparently he worked with Pynson. He is also known to have used copies of Vérard's cuts. See Ames, *Typographical Antiquities*, enlarged by Herbert and by Dibdin, III, 173 ff., and in *Papers of the Bibliographical Society*, 21 Jan., 1895, the article on Wyer by Plomer. Also Plomer's *Robert Wyer, Printer and Bookseller*. For Wyer's relation to Wynkyn de Worde see Plomer's *Wynkyn de Worde and His Contemporaries*.

⁴⁰¹ Duff, Plomer, and Pollard, *Hand List of English Printers, 1501–1556*, Pt. IV, printed by the Bibliographical Society, p. 4.

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*, Folger note says 8vo.

⁴⁰³ *GW* 2587.

“oon Samoht Notgnywel,” a scrambled spelling of “Thomas Lewyngton.”⁴⁰⁴ The book is illustrated partly with original cuts and partly with reproductions from the French edition.⁴⁰⁵

A more competent translation of the same edition of Vérard was made later, probably by Andrew Chertsey,⁴⁰⁶ it was printed in folio by Wynkyn de Worde on January 21, 1505, with the title *The crafte to live well and to dye well*, and with eighty cuts, twenty or more of them copied from the *Ars moriendi* pictures of the [1503] edition.⁴⁰⁷

The unique copy is in the Cambridge University Library.⁴⁰⁸ Bishop Lancelot Andrewes left in his will a *Crafte to live and dye well*, whether manuscript or printed book the will does not state,⁴⁰⁹ perhaps this is the same edition.

The same book was printed again in quarto by Wynkyn de Worde in [1506],⁴¹⁰ with the title *The arte or crafte to lyue well and to dye well*. Most of the *Ars moriendi* cuts were used in it.⁴¹¹

EDITIONS PRINTED IN OTHER COUNTRIES

No Danish editions are mentioned in the *Gesamtkatalog*, but Lauritz Nielsen describes in his bibliography a *Kunst Kristeligt of vel at dø*, by Juon Braschampe, translated by [Claus Foerd] and printed

⁴⁰⁴ The colophon reads: “Heyr endysh the traytte of god lyuyng and good Deyng et of paynys of hel et the paynys of purgatoyr the traytte of the cummyng of ante cryst the xv. syngys goyng afore the iugemēt general of god the joyes of paradys and the iugement general. (The qwyd as beyn translatyt in parys the xiii Day of May of franch in englysh oon thowsand .v. hondreth et iii zears.” See *BMC*, VI, 700, No. C. 70.g.14. Alice D. Greenwood says that the translator was “obviously a young Scotchman with a very imperfect knowledge of French” (*CHL*, II, 373). ⁴⁰⁵ Hind, *op. cit.*, II, 663.

⁴⁰⁶ Chertsey was known as a translator of several English and French devotional books for Wynkyn de Worde. See *DNB*, IV, 191.

⁴⁰⁷ See Hodnett, *English Woodcuts, 1480-1535*, p. 19. But Pollard says that the illustrations are “quite neat reductions” of the pictures in Vérard’s edition of 1492 (*Fine Books*, p. 254).

⁴⁰⁸ *STC*, No. 792.

⁴⁰⁹ *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology*, VII, cxvii.

⁴¹⁰ *DNB*, IV, 192, regards it as a complete translation of the same work from which Caxton (ca. 1491) had translated and printed extracts. This is hardly true; the Vérard editions are all of the QS group, whereas the Caxtons, I and II, are of the CP.

⁴¹¹ Wynkyn de Worde inserted at least one of the *Ars moriendi* cuts into almost every book that he printed, not always with complete appropriateness. Although he did not usually discriminate among the eleven, the Death of Moriens seems to have been his favorite. This he used in six different books, including *Thordynary of Christen men, Bok named the Royall* (which is a translation of Friar Laurent’s *Somme des vices et des vertus*), the *Dyenge Creature*, and *Complaynt of the soule* (Hodnett, *op. cit.*, p. 188).

by Mads. Vingaard at Copenhagen in 1570. The *Incipit* is: *Disputacio* oc en samtale imellem it siugt Menniste oc fristeren. Other editions were made later, in 1575 by Lor. Benedict and in 1580 by Andr. Gutterwitz.⁴¹²

An earlier book, published by Joh. Hoochstraten at Malmo in 1533, bears the title *Hvorledes hvert kristent Mennske skal bevede sig mod Døden*.⁴¹³ A book with a similar title, *Een aandelig Recept hvorledes et kristent menneske skal skikke mod Døden*, attributed to Hieronymus Weller as author and to Jon Turssen as translator, was printed in 1577 at Copenhagen by Andr. Gutterwitz.⁴¹⁴ Whether or not these books have any close connection with the *Ars moriendi* I cannot say.

In the British Museum Catalogue there is the following collation: “*Ars moriendi. Rozprawa bibliograficzna* [With the Latin text]; pp. 25. 1892. 8.”⁴¹⁵

⁴¹² *Dansk Bibliografi, 1482-1600*, p. 38, Nos. 382-84. ⁴¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 46, No. 393.

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 597, No. 1625. ⁴¹⁵ *BMC, VI*, 678, No. 011907. i 15. (1).

PART IV

BOOKS IN THE *ARS MORIENDI* TRADITION

THE LIST which follows is even more tentative than the catalogue of manuscripts of the *Ars moriendi* in Part II. Any one who investigates early books soon discovers that there always must be absent from his findings those lost or destroyed and those tucked away in private libraries. Only to students of considerable means, furthermore, are all private and public libraries accessible. I therefore am contenting myself with a representative group of works, full enough to convey some impression of the persistence of the *Ars moriendi* tradition in Western Europe. I am selecting only those in which the influence of the old *Ars* seems to me highly probable, and I will endeavor to show in my discussion the closeness of the relationship.

Nowhere in this fourth part, least of all in the section devoted to post-Reformation books in English, do I attempt to handle the whole great question of the later holy-dying literature. Perhaps what little I offer may serve as useful background to whoever makes a thorough investigation of the problem.

CONTEMPORARY BOOKS

LATIN

The *Dispositorium moriendi*¹ of the Dominican Father Johann Nider,² one of the most highly-schematized works that I have investigated,³ contains matter from the *Visitatio infirmorum* (doubtfully St. Augustine's) and Gerson's whole *De arte moriendi*; and inasmuch as

¹ Called also *Preciosissimus liber de arte moriendi*. There is a copy in the Library of Congress (Cologne? 1470?).

² Among the most famous Dominicans of the fifteenth century. See *CE*; Geffcken, *op. cit.*, p. 31; Schieler, *Magister Johannes Nieder*; Annette Barthélémy, *La Réforme dominicaine au xve siècle*, p. 52.

³ The work is divided into three parts, devoted respectively to what precedes, what accompanies, and what follows death. It is, of course, the second part which is related to the *Ars moriendi*.

what the *Visitatio* has supplied is chiefly exhortation to faith, hope, and charity,⁴ the combination bears a slight structural resemblance to the *Ars moriendi*. The work may even have served as a model for the author of the CP. None of the bibliographers has noticed apparently that Nider's text is the one printed without attribution by Gunther Zainer at Augsburg (ca. 1470) in a famous and popular edition.⁵

The *Rosetum*⁶ of Johann Mombaer,⁷ a very learned and distinguished Brother of the Common Life, contains a chapter called "De quibusdam exercitatoriis circa mortem practicis,"⁸ which shows the influence of the *Ars moriendi* in many unmistakable ways. All the divisions of the original text are there: the *descriptio mortis*, in almost identical wording; the temptations (with TAv diverted to hope of recovery); *remedia*—here, for the most part, quotations from the Fathers; the *imitatio Christi* of Part IV; the advice to every Christian that he pick beforehand a faithful friend to assist in his death, and to his friends the behest that they give him no false hope of recovery.

Mombaer was so zealous in prescribing an *ars moriendi* for all men that he advertised in the *Rosetum* Gerson's work on the subject, as well as Nider's⁹ and Denis Carthusian's. He praises also Suso's chapter, which he admired for its method of dialogue and its reliance upon pictures to teach the lesson of good dying.¹⁰

⁴ There is also a section on patience in sickness.

⁵ I have found copies in the New York, Congressional, and Morgan libraries and among the books of Mr. Lathrop Harper. It is among the items listed by Zainer in what is perhaps the earliest handlist of books; there is a copy in the Morgan. The *Gesamtkatalog* has not reached it, but the earlier bibliographies have it. See Hain 8589: *BMC*, II, 319; Reichling, I, 38; Proctor, 1570, Pellechet 1353, Morgan check list (1939) 296.

⁶ *Rosetum exercitiorum spiritualium et sacrarum meditationum*. There is a copy in the Morgan Library, Zwolle (Peter van Os), 1494.

⁷ Mauburnus (d. 1502). See Debongnie, *Jean Mombaer de Bruxelles*. ⁸ F. cclxi.

⁹ The title which Mombaer gives to Nider, *socius Gersonii*, might suggest that Nider was the Dominican who at Constance (according to my belief. See Pt. I. "The Question of Authorship") put together the CP text, but comparison of the style of Nider's *Dispositorium* with that of the *Ars* shows no striking similarity.

¹⁰ Mombaer believes that one should observe the death struggle and listen to the death sighs of other men so that, the impressions remaining, the images would come unbidden into his consciousness at the approach of temptation. The battle with Satan may also be won by memorizing beforehand from a book like the *Rosetum* the method of combating him. This, I believe, was the intention of the author of the *Ars moriendi*, that his readers should learn his method in health and apply it on their deathbeds.

Jacob of Clusa's¹¹ *De arte moriendi*,¹² though chiefly *ars vivendi*, has here and there flashes of the old *Ars*: the quotation from Aristotle with which both CP and QS texts open; temptations against faith and hope, with their *remedia*, in a chapter entitled "De presentia malignorum spirituum";¹³ and in a list of eight points for the imitation of Our Lord in His death, the five of the CP.¹⁴

A work interesting in itself, and closer to the *Ars moriendi* than is Jacob's book is the *Quattuor novissima* of the great Carthusian Dionysius de Leewis (d. 1471), known as "ecstaticus" and as a highly prolific author.¹⁵ The point of relationship is again the temptations, all of which are in Denis,¹⁶ together with *remedia*. He prefaces the section with the warning, used by both CP and QS authors, that the devil is especially energetic at deathbeds, since he has so little time. Evidently something of a reader in the classics, Denis introduces into the text a list of persons in high places who had no choice but to submit to death, among them Paris, Venus and Adonis, Hector, Hercules, Plato, Plotinus, Cicero, Macrobius, Demosthenes, and Xenophon—strange faces in the *Ars moriendi* tradition.¹⁷

By scarcely anything more than its intitulation is Robert de Valle's, or Duval's, *De dispositione ad bene beateque moriendum*¹⁸ connected with the *Ars moriendi*. Besides being largely an *ars vivendi*, the work is more philosophical than devotional.¹⁹

¹¹ Or Carthusiensis or de Paradiso or de Polonia or Juterbögt (d. 1465).

¹² There is a copy of Leipzig (n.d.) in the Congressional Library. I have also examined the text in BM MS Addit. 15, 105. ¹³ Ch. xviii. ¹⁴ Ch. xix.

¹⁵ Surnamed Rickel. In the collection of Jules Bache, New York, there is a fine portrait of a Carthusian, supposedly Denis, by Petrus Christus.

¹⁶ Denis goes beyond the *Ars* by stressing the connection between the nature of the temptation and temperament of the person tempted.

¹⁷ The Congressional Library has a copy of the *Quattuor novissima*, made at Delft in 1487 [by Jacob Jacobszoen]; the New York Library, one in Italian [Venice, 1590]. The work is extant in many MSS and in other printed editions (see *GW*, VII, 450). The text is not that of the *Cordiale*, or of the version of the Four Last Things appended to the CP text in such editions as those made at Cologne by Heinrich Quentell.

¹⁸ Printed by Jean Hyman, or Higman [Paris, 1494]. The Newberry Library owns a copy.

¹⁹ There are marginal notes of "Ratio," "Ratio confirmatio alia ratio," and the like. In a preliminary letter addressed to the printer Robert says that St. Thomas Aquinas warns friends, even those apparently most removed from death, that they should die well and happily. Possibly Robert was a Dominican.

GERMAN

German *Sterbebüchlein* up to 1520 were discussed in 1890 by Doctor Franz Falk. I will sum up what he has said of the fifteenth-century books related to the *Ars moriendi*.²⁰ *Die Klage* in MS St. Gall 846 contains passages on three of the five deathbed temptations, the Anselm Questions, and the prayers. *A B C, wie Man sich schicken soll zu einem seligen Tod* includes under *T* and *W* references to the deathbed temptations (printed 1497, s.l., and also by Michel Furter at Basel). *Von dem sterbenden Menschen und dem gulden Seelentrost*, which, says the *Incipit*, the author made from the *Kunst wol zu sterben*, has all the temptations and the questions, a passage on the value of a true friend at one's deathbed, and the three Paternosters, but without the *exemplum* of the Pope.²¹ It was printed by Simon Koch at Magdeburg in 1486. The text is in Low German. *Der Spiegel der kranken und sterbenden Menschen*, a translation of the *Cordiale*,²² contains the temptations and the interrogations.²³ Falk lists five German editions and one in Low German. *Ein Tractelein von dem sterbenden Menschen*²⁴ was printed by Johann Weyssenburger²⁵ and in many ways resembles his *Ars moriendi* of Landshut, 1520.²⁶ *Versehung von Leib, Seele, Ehre und Gut*, which handles the temptations and the interrogations, shows the influence of the QS version. Albrecht von Eyb's²⁷ *Sittenspiegel*²⁸ contains a section beginning with "Von aim guten saligen tod. Und wie sich der mensch darzu bereiten sol,"

²⁰ Falk discusses death books which are like the *Ars moriendi* in one single way—that they are on the subject of death. I am selecting only those on his list which bear obvious relation to the *Ars* (*Die deutsche Sterbebüchlein*).

²¹ For this book see also the Borchling and Claussen catalogue of early books in Low German, No. 347. ²² Introduction.

²³ In the German translation of the *Cordiale* printed by Anton Sorg at Augsburg, a copy of which is in the Morgan Library. I can find little or no relation to the *Ars moriendi*.

²⁴ For this book see *BMC*, LXXVI, 133.

²⁵ Memmingen, 1497, and Nuremberg, 1509.

²⁶ Pt. III, "Editions Printed in Germany."

²⁷ Albrecht (1420-75), one of the first German humanists, translated Plautus and wrote *Margarita poetica* in 1472. He is the author of two other works on dying, *Epistola preparatoria ad mortem* and *Eyn Gespräch zwischen dem Tod und einem Bauern* (1477).

²⁸ Falk makes here a new division of his death books—*Erbauungsbücher mit Belehrung über glückseliges Sterben*. Among them he discusses the *Seelengärtlein*, but I have included the *Ars moriendi* in all editions of the *Hortulus anime* with the German editions.

which has much in common with the CP version—temptations, interrogations, stress on the faithful friend, the Pope and the Pater-nosters. The *Sittenspiegel* was printed in 1511. According to the author of the *Himmelstrasse*, who calls himself "Bruder Steffan," his material was gathered out of many books. One evidently was the CP text, for the four chapters of Bruder Steffan's death section contain the material of the first, second, fourth, and third chapters of the CP. If I am to judge by Falk's description of the *Himmlische Fundgrube* of Johann von Paltz (1491), there is a discussion of the temptation to despair which harries a dying man. Much closer to the *Ars moriendi*²⁹ is the death chapter in a German compendium, *Der Laienspiegel*, published at Lübeck by the "Poppy Printer" in 1496. It contains the five temptations in their proper order, but with the requisites for a good confession following instead of inspirations; the interrogations; emphasis upon dying willingly; deathbed prayers.³⁰

Not mentioned by Falk are fifteenth-century German books about which in one way or another I have found some information: The *Vorsmack und Vorkost des hemmelischen Paradises*³¹ (Lübeck, 1481) has a section called "Wo de mynsche wol sterven moghe." A *Beichtbüchlein* (Magdeburg, 1486) has a "Gut Vorbereitung zum Tode," which, according to Vincenz Hasak,³² is the text of the facsimile made by Butsch, that is, of Xyl. X, XI, XII. The *Buch der zehn Gebote*,³³ a dialogue between "der Iunger" and "der Meister," is more like Suso's death chapter than like the *Ars*, but strong emphasis in the text on the necessity of dying willingly links it with the books under discussion here.

Most noted of the German works, *Das Buch vom guten Tode*,³⁴ the second part of the *De arbore humana* of Geiler von Kaysersberg,³⁵

²⁹ Geffcken gives the impression that the death section in the *Laienspiegel* is based on Gerson's tract. In examining the copy in the Morgan Library, however, I have found that the passage is derived from the *Ars moriendi* (*op. cit.*, p. 148).

³⁰ Falk includes on his list the *Schatzbehalter*, printed by Koberger at Nuremberg in 1491. The connection with the *Ars moriendi* is slight—only the use of the Anselm Questions. There is a copy in the Morgan Library.

³¹ Borchling and Claussen, *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie*, No. 53 A. See also Nos. 79, 84, 417, 1135. ³² *Der christliche Glaube des deutschen Volkes*, p. 225.

³³ First German book to be printed in Venice (1483). The Morgan Library owns a copy.

³⁴ See his works edited by Dr. Philipp de Lorenzi, I, 115 ff.

³⁵ (1445-1510). Arthur Hind says one of the two most famous writers who followed the *Ars moriendi* theme, the other being Gerson (*op. cit.*, I, 226n). Geiler used the language of

famous preacher of the Strasbourg cathedral, contains a free and full translation of the *Ars moriendi*, with contributions from both CP and QS texts,³⁶ followed by a free translation of the third part of Gerson's *Opusculum*.³⁷ In handling the temptations Geiler changed the order³⁸ and used the phrase "Frucht der Busse" for the power that gives Moriens the victory over the devil.³⁹ It would have been disappointing if one with his original mind had merely translated his sources; far from being content with the CP and Gerson, he has added, elaborated, condensed, and rearranged so that his *Buch vom guten Tode* is almost a new discussion of "die Kunst aller Künste, die Kunst gut zu sterben."

FRENCH

Georges Chastellain's⁴⁰ noteworthy: *Le Pas de la mort*,⁴¹ or *Miroir de mort*, an unusual but long-winded poem in stanzas of eight short lines, contains several of the common fifteenth-century death motifs,⁴² among them the temptations to infidelity and to despair,

ordinary life with great force and skill. A style such as his could not fail to have popular appeal. "O Herz des Sünders," he says, "du bist dieser Berg, hoch, schwer, trocken und hart wie ein Berg: hoch durch deinen Stolz, schwer durch die Last, die dich in die Tiefen menschlicher Eitelkeit hinabdrückt . . . , " (Lorenzi ed., I, 334). Elsewhere, "Der Glaube ist jener helle Morgenstern, dem bald der Aufgang der Sonne der Gerechtigkeit im ewigen Leben folgen wird. Der Glaube ist der Meerestern, welcher denen, die durch die Pforte des Todes hindurchfahren, vorleuchtet, damit sie zum Gestade des himmlischen Vaterlandes gelangen. Der Glaube ist endlich jener Stern, der die Könige zur Krippe führte und auch uns zum Throne des Königs der Herrlichkeit geleiten wird, wenn wir uns hienieden von ihm haben leiten lassen und uns selbst regiert haben" (*ibid.*, p. 335). Geiler preached sermons based upon his friend Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff*. For a good account of Geiler's work see Dacheux, *Les Plus Anciens Écrits de Geiler de Kaysersberg*. L'Abbé Dacheux has also written a fine biography of Geiler, *Un Réformateur catholique*.

³⁶ He evidently took phrasing from the QS TVg and TAv.

³⁷ Lorenzi, ed., I, 359 ff. Geiler translated much of Gerson. A German version of the whole *Opusculum tripartitum* he called *Der dreieckicht Spiegel*.

³⁸ His order is TAv, TDe, TVg, TImp, TFa. Strange to say, the text of TImp begins: "Wenn der böse Feind sieht, dass er den Sterbenden weder durch Verzweiflung noch durch vermessene Hoffnung verderben kann, so versucht er ihm durch Ungeduld zu schaden, weil die Ungeduld mit der Liebe gottes nicht bestehen kann."

³⁹ TImp is called "Unterwerfung unter den Willen Gottes"; TAv, "Ruhens von allen irdischen Sorgen."

⁴⁰ (1404-75). Historiographer of the Duc de Bourgogne (Dalbanne and Droz, "Le Miroir de mort de Georges Chastellain," in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 1928, p. 89). See also Urwin, *Georges Chastellain, la vie, des œuvres*. ⁴¹ Ed. of de Lettenhove, V, 6.

⁴² The physical disintegration at death, the leveling power of death, and the *Ubi sunt?* the author being interested in the present whereabouts of Alexander, Arthur, Charlemagne, Roland, Ogier, Lancelot, Helen, and Lucrece.

with the corresponding inspirations of the angel.⁴³ The poem closes with a *débat* between devil and angel, to whom the poet gives alternate stanzas, with each line introduced by the same word:

Mirons-nous au grant jugement
 Mirons-nous en la passion
 Mirons enfer et dampnement;
 Mirons la mort et son torment;
 Mirons nostre inclination;
 Mirons le monde et sa facon
 Mirons nostre fragilite
 Mirons nous pour estre saulve.

The angel has the last word in a stanza beginning *Prions*.⁴⁴

ITALIAN

On All Souls' Day, 1496, Savonarola preached in Florence a sermon on the art of dying, taken down at the time by Ser Lorenzo Violi and published, probably shortly afterward, as *Predica dell'arte del ben morire*.⁴⁵ The links of the text with the *Ars moriendi* are the warning to the relatives of the dying man not to deceive him about his condition, an admonition on the folly of late repentance, and the description of three temptations—against too-great concern for possessions, against hope and faith, with *remedia*, one of which is the presence of a faithful friend.⁴⁶ Another connection between Savonarola's *Predica*

⁴³ The temptation to despair also includes impatience.

⁴⁴ Jehan de Castel, Benedictine abbot of St. Maur-des-Fosses (d. 1476), wrote a *Specule des pecheurs*, a strange combination of Latin and French poetry designed, as he says in his Preface, for both lettered and unlettered. This, like a second work of Jehan's *Lexhortation des mondains tant gens deglise come seculiers*, six ballades reminiscent of Villon, contains a section on death, but not close to the *Ars* except in the author's concern for the good dying of two groups of Christians, those in the world and those out of it. The death chapter in *Lexhortation* is also connected by title: "Balade pour apprendre a bien mourir et renuncier du tout au monde." The two works were printed by Caillaut at Paris, 1485-1500, the one and only edition, of which there is a copy in the Morgan Library.

⁴⁵ Without place or date, but probably Florence. When the sermon was preached, Florence was famine stricken owing to a blockade of Leghorn. There are copies in the Morgan Library and in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. For discussion of this work see Gruyer, *Les Illustrations des écrits de Jérôme Savonarole publiés en Italie au XV^e et au XVI^e siècle*, pp. 61 ff. Also Lippmann, *The Art of Wood Engraving in Italy in the Fifteenth Century*. Herr Lippmann minimizes the connection between the *Predica* and the *Ars*, stating inaccurately that the *Ars* was intended to fill sinners with dread and horror. Gruyer thinks that Savonarola has added warmth to his original (*op. cit.*, p. 61).

⁴⁶ As in the *Ars moriendi*, although there not a *remedium* against a single temptation.

and the *Ars* is the three woodcuts,⁴⁷ especially the two depicting a dying man on his deathbed, and of these more especially one which shows three devils⁴⁸ behind the bed and above it the Blessed Virgin and the Infant in company with angels. The cuts appear in two Florentine editions of the *Ars moriendi* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

ENGLISH

During the fifteenth century the *Ars moriendi* appears to have exerted little influence on English books. Even where resemblance can be traced, it is slight. Not until two hundred years later was there any considerable number of works in the old tradition.

Hoccleve's *Lerne to Dye*,⁴⁹ 938 lines of rhyme royal with a prose supplement, is related to the *Ars* through intitulation, but only indirectly through subject matter, since it is in part a translation of Suso's chapter on the art of dying.⁵⁰

Probably fifteenth century⁵¹ and probably related to the *Ars moriendi* is the lost book which Skelton says in the *Garden of Laurell* he wrote "to lerne you to dye when ye wyll."

In MS Harl. 1706, with Suso's chapter and the *Crafte of Dyeng*, is the *Dyeynge Creature*, printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1507.⁵² Although closer to the English moralities than to the *Ars moriendi*, it yet gives some suggestion of the interrogations in the dying creature's confession of faith and hope and his protestation of sorrow for sin and of forgiveness of his enemies.⁵³

⁴⁷ These are reproduced in Gruyer, *op. cit.*, and in Humphreys, *Masterpieces of the Early Printers & Engravers*.

⁴⁸ Much more conventional devils, according to modern iconography, than those in the block books of the *Ars*. So, incidentally, are those in the Florentine editions, as I have already remarked in Pt. III.

⁴⁹ EETS, 61, ES, 178 ff. Professor Saintsbury has called it the poet's most dignified, most poetical work (*CHL*, II, 236).

⁵⁰ Lines 918-31 are original. See Benjamin Kurtz, *MLN*, XXXVIII (1923), 337 ff. Also *PMLA*, XL (1925), 252-75. In a *Dialog with a Friend* Hoccleve says that he translated a Latin work (EETS, 61, ES, 117). There is a second source of the poem—the Sarum Breviary.

⁵¹ Skelton mentions the work in a list beginning "in primis." It has never been found. Bale's mention of it was evidently taken from the *Garden of Laurell* (*op. cit.*, p. 254).

⁵² This piece was modernized by Miss Comper in her 1917 volume.

⁵³ Wynkyn de Worde's use of the IAv and IVg cuts in this book is not of great importance, since he used available cuts whether appropriate or not.

An interesting prose treatise on death in MS Harl. 2398, ff. 181-83, warns against the zeal of the demons for "men and women in the houre of here dethe . . . to make hem to have an yvel ende and so be dampned." The author supplies the correct answers for their taunts.⁵⁴

LATER CATHOLIC BOOKS

LATIN

Erasmus's *De preparatione ad mortem*⁵⁵ (1533), written three years before his own death, is more exhortation than handbook,⁵⁶ but beginning with its *Incipit*, which is that of the CP and QS texts,⁵⁷ it shows in its subject matter many points of similarity to the *Ars moriendi*. Erasmus says that death is the end of a pilgrimage, a going out of prison; that it is utter folly to count upon late repentance;

⁵⁴ In the last stanza of William Dunbar's "Lament for the Makaris," written "wquhen he was sek," the poet advises the learning betimes of an *ars moriendi*:

"Sen for the Deth remeid is non,
Best is that we for deth dispone,
Eftir our deth that leif may we:
Timor mortis conturbat me."

See Dunbar's *Poems*, ed. by H. Bellyse Baildon, p. 149. Perhaps a forerunner of the *Ars moriendi* is the poem in fifteen stanzas rhyming ababbcbc, with the title "Man know thyselfe & lerne to dye" (1404-08). It speaks of the necessity of faith and of keeping clear of both too much and too little hope, but does not warn of temptations (See EETS, 124, OS, 29). The poem is taken from MS Digby 102, f. 104. In the third book of the *Prick of Conscience* a chapter on death pictures the hideousness of deathbed devils and warns against deferred repentance. Two fifteenth-century works only indirectly related to the *Ars moriendi* bear titles suggesting a closer relationship: the *Disce mori* (MSS Laud 99 and Jesus Coll., Oxf. 39) is of the *Somme le roi* group; the *Scire mori* (Lichfield MS 16) is a translation of Suso's death chapter.

⁵⁵ Or *Quomodo se quisque debeat preparare ad mortem*. It was written, according to Drummond, for Thomas Rochford, father of Ann Boleyn (*Erasmus, His Life and Character*, II, 331). It was printed often in Latin and in Dutch (for the Dutch editions up to 1862 see *Het Boek*, 1936-37, p. 90). The Union Theological Seminary has an edition of Basel, 1540 (*Opera*, Vol. V). In answer to Father Robert Parson's challenge that the English Church had produced few books of piety, devotion, and contemplation, Edmund Bunny cited this work of Erasmus (Helen C. White, *English Devotional Literature*, 1600-40, p. 52), and it was translated by Robert Warren, rector of Charleton in Kent, as *Preparative for Death* (London, 1706). It is easy to see why, with Erasmus's occasional free interpretation of Scriptural passages and shirking of direct statement and especially his tendency, at least in this work, to cite exceptional cases, the reformers mistook the *De preparatione ad mortem* for a Protestant book. It was written, however, after Erasmus had definitely aligned himself on the side of the Church and contains no heretical doctrine.

⁵⁶ Apparently it was always printed in one long paragraph with no marginal headings.

⁵⁷ Erasmus calls Aristotle "quidam magni nominis philosophus," showing perhaps the new, less exalted idea of the Stagirite.

that the dying should fortify themselves against too great concern for wife, children, house, and other possessions; that Satan will tempt them to infidelity and despair; that they must steer a course between the Charybdis of desperation⁵⁸ and the Scylla of complacence—and he adds the *exemplum* of the hermit Anthony's conquest of the two opposite vices, which I have found nowhere else but in the *Ars*.⁵⁹

The *Aqua vitae de fontibus Salvatoris*, put together by one Henry Kyspenning⁶⁰ of Venlo in the Netherlands and printed at Antwerp in 1583,⁶¹ a highly comprehensive treatise on death, in a somewhat baroque style, contains part of the *descriptio mortis*; all the temptations (although TAv is divided into two parts, one to love of family, the other to love of possessions); *remedia* (which here are fitting Biblical quotations for Moriens to have ready for Satan); a passage on Our Lord as the Exemplar of holy dying.

The *Doctrinale de triplici morte, naturali, culpae, et gehennae* (Antwerp, 1612)⁶² of Doctor John Ravlin, professor of theology and monk of the order of Cluny, combines four of the five temptations⁶³ and their *remedia* with a free handling of Gerson's *De arte moriendi*. The temptations and Gerson, it will be remembered, were the two principal components of the CP text.

St. Robert Bellarmine's *De arte bene moriendi*, printed at Antwerp in 1620⁶⁴ and translated into English the next year,⁶⁵ is divided into two parts, the first sixteen chapters being concerned with remote, the latter seventeen with immediate, preparation for death. Begin-

⁵⁸ The style of the *De preparatione* is often haphazard; despair recurs in the discussion over and over. ⁵⁹ Pt. I, "Sources."

⁶⁰ I have been able to find out nothing about this author. Perhaps he was a fugitive English Catholic. Books by such were often printed at Antwerp and Louvain after 1563.

⁶¹ There is a copy at the Columbia University Library.

⁶² There is a copy in the Congressional Library.

⁶³ In the order TDe, TVg, TFa, TImp. The fifth temptation is to obstinacy and can be withstood only by the grace of God.

⁶⁴ There is a copy in the Union Theological Seminary. Still surviving in the Record Office in London is a list of Catholic books taken from a Dutch ship at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, April, 1626. Among them is this book of St. Robert's (White, *English Devotional Literature*, p. 137).

⁶⁵ By C. E., evidently Rev. Edward Coffin, S.J., at St. Omers. There was also a Protestant English translation by the Reverend John Dalton, Dublin, n.d. For the numerous eds. in Latin, French, Dutch, German, Italian, and Polish see De Backer, *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Vol. I, cols. 535-36.

ning with the ninth chapter of the second part the temptations⁶⁶ and their *remedia*⁶⁷ are handled; the fifteenth and sixteenth are devoted to those who learn the art of dying and to those unhappy ones who neglect it; the longest chapter in the book is on the interrogations.

The anonymous *Methodus tripartita sive praxis brevis et clara adjuvandi agonizantes* (given an imprimatur in 1682 at Antwerp and a reimprimatur in 1687)⁶⁸ has the *Incipit* from Aristotle;⁶⁹ a warning to every sick man to discover whether he is in peril of death and, since if he is in such peril, the devil will attack him as never before, to provide a good friend to assist him in the struggle; the assurance that angels will be there to help and to comfort him; and prayers in Latin, French, and Flemish for his friends to say if he cannot speak. But the *Methodus* goes further than the *Ars* and concerns itself, as the *Ars* did not, with the different kinds and conditions of dying men: the priest or friend must find out the station and inclinations of Moriens and handle him accordingly.⁷⁰ There is also much on the proper manner of dealing with the sick; one should be prudent and grave, but pleasant, and should guard against talking too loud or too much. The art of assisting at deathbeds has its own technique and organization.⁷¹

⁶⁶ But the third is to hatred of God, instead of to mere impatience as in the *Ars*. Another lies in the loathsome aspect which the devil assumes.

⁶⁷ The *remedia* are chiefly *exempla*. What he uses against infidelity, the story of a man who made the grave mistake of trying to dispute on doctrine with the devil, is used in the same way in the Low German *Oorspronck* (*infra*). St. Robert gives as the source Petrus Baroccius, author of three books "de Ratione bene moriendi."

⁶⁸ In the Union Theological Seminary there is a copy of Mechlin, 1756.

⁶⁹ Pt. I, "The Question of Priority."

⁷⁰ Bishop Lancelot Andrewes (1626) had prescribed different methods for different kinds of people, but he was not the first to do so. In his *Pastoral Care* St. Gregory had urged that men be admonished one way, women another; and he drew similar distinctions between young and old, rich and poor, cheerful and sad, princes and subjects, wise and foolish, and so on (EETS, 49, 50, OS).

⁷¹ "Ars bene moriendi necessaria super omnia," a chapter in the *Paradisus anime christiane*, written as a dialogue between Our Lord and a soul, links itself to the *Ars* by the old characterization of the art of dying, the "cunnyng of cunnynges": "Scire mori," says Christ, "haec vere est ars artium & scientia scientiarum." Perhaps the phrase came from Suso's death chapter (Pt. I, "Literary Forerunners"). Father Hurter mentions several other Latin books possibly allied to the *Ars*, but I have been unable to find them: *De arte moriendi* by Nicholaus Salicetus (d. 1501), (*op. cit.*, IV, 1007); *Preparatio mortis* by Franciscus de Hevia (*ibid.*, p. 1343); *De Christiana ad mortem preparatione* by Ludovicus Berus

FRENCH

Perhaps originally written in French was *La manière de se préparer à la mort* of David de la Vigne, or de Chertablon, printed at Anvers in 1700,⁷² but evidently dating from around 1674. It is a handsome book, put together on the principle of the block books of the *Ars moriendi*, text vis-à-vis with a set of forty fine steel engravings by the famous Romeyn de Hooghe.⁷³ They depict *le malade* in a typical seventeenth-century bedchamber, generally with canopied bed and other luxurious furnishings, his family sleeping or grieving around him. For his encouragement cherubs hold above him a painting of a single detail of the Passion in an elaborate frame. Five of the engravings are temptation pictures, in which devils goad the sick man to infidelity, despair, and glory in his own good deeds,⁷⁴ while angels urge him to withstand the evil suggestions.⁷⁵ It is interesting to note that here, as in the old woodcuts, details of costumes and furnishings vary from engraving to engraving.⁷⁶ Further borrowings from the *Ars* are sections on the importance of calling a priest earlier than a doctor⁷⁷ and of being honest with a sick man about his condition.⁷⁸

I have found this book in German (Amsterdam, 1702)⁷⁹ and in Low German (Amsterdam, 1694).⁸⁰ Both the editions have the de Hooghe engravings, but the Low German text is little more than a series of captions.

(d. 1554), (*ibid.*, p. 1275); *Tilianus vel de scientia bene moriendi liber* by Joannes Philonius Dugo (d. 1553), (*ibid.*, pp. 1335-36); *De preparatione ad mortem* by Petrus Alphonsus (ca. 1562), (*ibid.*, p. 1344).

⁷² There is a copy in the Morgan Library. ⁷³ Died 1708.

⁷⁴ The fourth temptation grows out of the idea that words of a woman often constitute a temptation. Perhaps this is a form of TAv, which tempted Moriens to great attachment to wife and children. In Chertablon this temptation includes the idea of light distraction.

⁷⁵ There is something French in the warning against the devil's "sophismes," his "faux raisonnemens," and in the quotations from Seneca, Horace, Virgil, Ovid, Juvenal, Lucan, Martial, Propertius, and Claudian. And there is much of the period and its religious controversy in the condemnation of the tenet of faith without works.

⁷⁶ In one picture there is reason to believe that Moriens is a woman.

⁷⁷ The meaning here seems to be related to the woodcut of the "malade au lit entre deux medecins" in the *Mensch sterbender und guldener Seelentrost* (Magdeburg, ca. 1492) in Low German (Schreiber, *Manuel*, V B, 101).

⁷⁸ *Le malade*'s wife objects to his going to confession, because he has only a slight illness.

⁷⁹ There is a copy at Harvard; according to the Introduction, Chertablon was "Priester und Licentiat Theologiae." ⁸⁰ There is a copy in the Cornell University Library.

GERMAN⁸¹

The *Buchel von dem aygen Gericht des sterbenden Menschen*, a morality play in rhyming verse (Munich, 1510),⁸² shows conspicuous relationship to the *Ars moriendi* in its passages on deathbed temptations to infidelity, despair, and inordinate concern for family and for earthly goods. In accordance with a growing tendency to substitute other *remedia* for the inspirations of the angels, however, "Pruders" disclose the treachery of the devil to Moriens, and it is they who interrogate him. A cut, close in design to those of the *Ars*, but depicting no special temptation, is four times repeated.

The *Büchlein von der Nachfolgung des willigen Sterbens Christi*⁸³ of Luther's fellow-Augustinian Johann von Staupitz (printed by Melchior Lotter at Leipzig in 1515) is like the *Ars moriendi* in sections on the interrogations and the temptations, although Staupitz raises the number of the latter to nine.⁸⁴ His *remedia* are the lessons of the death of Christ.⁸⁵

The Low German *Oorspronck onser Salicheyt* (Antwerp, Jan van Doesborgh, 1517)⁸⁶ is in the compendium tradition, but, as is not the case in most of the earlier books of the class, the how-to-die chapter is a genuine *ars moriendi*. The five temptations are paired off with a brand-new variety of *remedium—exempla*, one or several, not without interest. The most important other deviation from the old *Ars* is in the handling of the temptations: in TDe Mary Magdalene and St. Peter, no longer glorious examples of hope, are used by the devil to induce Moriens to despair, since the penance God exacted of them was so tremendous; to the old matter of TImp the signs-of-death motif is added; in TVg the pertinent parable of the Pharisee and the publican makes its first appearance in the art-of-dying literature; in

⁸¹ A dozen or more German books on death or dying, printed in the sixteenth century, are in the collection of Gustav Freytag in the Stadtbibliothek in Frankfurt a. M., but I have no reason to think that they are in any way connected with the *Ars moriendi* (see the catalogue, Frankfurt a. M., 1925).

⁸² There is a copy in the Morgan Library. See also the modern edition of Johannes Bolte, Leipzig, 1927. For comment see Creizenach, *op. cit.*, III, 158 ff.

⁸³ See the edition made at Potsdam, 1867, I, 50 ff.

⁸⁴ Four are those of the *Ars*.

⁸⁵ Moriens's temptation to despair Staupitz makes analogous with the "temptation" of Our Lord on the Cross when the soldiers taunted Him with His supposed impotence.

⁸⁶ There is a copy in the Morgan Library.

TAv, although the text is just as scrappy as it is in the earlier versions of the *Ars*, the admonition is uttered against real avarice, not against excessive attachment to wife and children. An interesting addition is the reëntrance of the five devils upon the scene—at the Judgment,⁸⁷ the duty of each being to accuse a single class of men, with one of the prophets acting as defense counsel. The lone cut is obviously related to the *Ars moriendi* xylography.

The *Catholisch Pfarbuch*, of Johann Leisentritt (Cologne, 1590),⁸⁸ has all the temptations, but here each *remedium* is simply a statement of what Moriens should reply to Satan.

ENGLISH

St. Thomas More's unfinished work on the *Four Last Things* (ca. 1522),⁸⁹ although it refers as often to the ancients as to the Fathers,⁹⁰ is yet in many ways a medieval work, closely related to the death-books of the fifteenth century,⁹¹ including the *Ars moriendi*. Its description has the stark realism of some of the block-book cuts, and its language, although much more splendid than that of the *Ars* in figurativeness and imaginative power,⁹² is still the clear, forthright, homely language⁹³ of the medieval devotional writers.⁹⁴ Sometimes a word or a phrase, such a "forsloth"⁹⁵ or "to the weale and profyte of

⁸⁷ "Van vijf principael duvelen die den sundaer beschuldighen sullen in dat ordel gods."

⁸⁸ There is a copy in the Union Theological Seminary Library.

⁸⁹ Edited with the other English works of St. Thomas by W. E. Campbell, with introductions and philological notes by A. W. Reed, and reproduction in facsimile from William Rastell's edition of 1557, Vol. I. Also edited, London [1935], by D. O'Connor. R. W. Chambers says that More, like Socrates, had all his life been studying nothing but dying and being dead (*Thomas More*, p. 385). Of the *Four Last Things* St. Thomas completed only the work on death.

⁹⁰ He quotes only St. Chrysostom and St. Augustine, but his Biblical quotations are numerous, and he puts "Memorare novissima" above "the great volumes" of the best of old philosophers, i.e., Plato (Campbell ed., p. 71C).

⁹¹ He describes the physical loathesomeness of each. He also describes the Dance of Death "pictured in Paul's" (Campbell ed., 77).

⁹² St. Thomas also has humor and grim irony not to be found in the *Ars*.

⁹³ Some of his figures are like those of Langland or Chaucer, e.g., "For as for y^t that thy hunger doth thee pleasure whā it is fed, so doeth somtime the y^tch of a sore leg, whā thou clawest about the brinkes" (Campbell ed., p. 81C).

⁹⁴ Reed says that St. Thomas writes in the tradition of Walter Hilton, that he got his hairshirt and style from the monks in the London Charterhouse (quoted in R. W. Chambers's "The Continuity of English Prose from Alfred to More and His School," introductory essay to Harpsfield's life of St. Thomas More, EETS, 186, OS, cxxx).

⁹⁵ Campbell ed., p. 72.

mannes soule,"⁹⁶ sounds like a direct echo of the earlier books on dying.

His subject matter is related to the *Ars moriendi* in the warning against the folly of trying to avoid death, the comparison of death to the end of a sickness, the example of Christ crying out on the Cross, but especially in the discussion of deathbed temptations. ". . . whan wee drawe to deathe, dooeth hys vttermoste deuoyre to bryngē vs to damnacion; neuer ceasyngē to mynyster by subtyils and incogytale meanes, firste vnlawefull longyng to lyue, horroure to goe gladly to god at his callyng"⁹⁷—the old fifth temptation. Most of the others are there, too—"And if we be so farre gone, that we see we cannot recouer, than he casteth in our myndes, presumpcion and securitie of saluacion, as a thing well wonne by our owne workes: of whiche if we haue any done well, he casteth thē into our mindes with ouer great liking. . . ."⁹⁸ Later, For into the minds of those "whō he hath brought into gret & horible sinnes" he brings "their shameful sinnes by hepe, & by the abominable sight thereof, draweth thē into desperaciō";⁹⁹ and St. Thomas adds, as the *Ars moriendi* does, a quotation from Pope Innocent's *De vilitate conditionis humanae generis*, adapting it to the wicked, whom he has singled out for his temptation: "For thagreuing wheroft, oure lord after their deseruing suffreth hym to shew himself to thē for their more discōfort, in some feareful figure & terrible likenes. . . ."¹⁰⁰ Covetousness is not mentioned as a temptation, but a vivid picture of the man who, although near death, sets his heart upon his goods, ill- or well-gotten, is put into its right perspective:

" . . . some wretches y^t scant can crepe for age, his hed hanging in his bosom, and his body crooked, walk pit pat vpon a paire of patens wyth the staffe in the tone hande and the *pater noster* in the tother hande, the tone fote almost in the grauve already, and yet neuer the more hast to part with anythyngē, nor to restore that he hathe euyl gotten, but as gredy to geat a grote by the begiling of his neybour, as if he had of certaynty seuen score yere to liue.¹⁰¹

Neither is impatience introduced as a temptation, but St. Thomas says, as the *Ars* suggests, that "pleasant pain" is a token of God's

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94.

favor and that we ought to be grateful to Him for giving us purges here instead of purgatory hereafter.

Later books state that assistance of the dying should vary with circumstances and with the disposition of the dying; the *Ars* and St. Thomas agree that their doctrines are for every man, "of what complexion soever."

According to John Archer Gee, who has given us the life of the author¹⁰² and a critical edition of his works,¹⁰³ Thomas Lupset's *Treatise of Dieying Well* (1529/30) was written possibly "from a strong reaction against the point of view and possibly the formlessness" of the older books on how to die. Undoubtedly Lupset was under the influence of the Renaissance spirit, for he begins with a list of *exempla* from history showing that the pagans knew how to die "gladlye" and therefore well, and he exhorts young men in another treatise¹⁰⁴ to read Aristotle, Plato, Cicero, and Seneca. Lupset also exalts the individual man, "a tayllour, a shomaker, a carpenter, a botman,"¹⁰⁵ even taking up briefly the plowman tradition to impress us with his dignity. It may be said, moreover, that the structure of the *Treatise* approaches more nearly the classical standard than does the *Ars*—although the "formlessness" observed by Mr. Gee in the latter work is not apparent to one who regards it as a conduct book.¹⁰⁶ Lupset was indeed humanistic in his tendencies, but he had not forsaken the spirit of the old *Ars* when he came to write his art of dying; besides the title, an exact translation of one of the commonest in the manuscripts,¹⁰⁷ and an occasional phrase, such as, "if we turned all our care to godward,"¹⁰⁸ there are other links—reverence for the authority of the Apostles and the Fathers (Lupset says, "But none of all the paynymes canne eyther with worde or with ensamples of theyr actes declare this thynge," that is, the art of dying, "so trewley and effectually, as may he that is exercised in Christes philosophye: a Paule, or a Peter, or a Hieron shulde here in speke more lyuely,

¹⁰² According to the ascription in the edition made at Paris by Thomas Berthelet in 1541, "Thomas Lupsete Londoner, late deceased" was "the flowre of lerned men of his tyme" (Ames, *op. cit.*, III, 315). Mr. Gee says that Lupset nourished the seed of learning planted by Grocyn and Linacre (pp. 181-83). ¹⁰³ New Haven, 1928.

¹⁰⁴ *An Exhortacion to Young Men*, Gee's ed., p. 245.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 270. ¹⁰⁶ See Introduction. ¹⁰⁷ See Pt. II.

¹⁰⁸ The *Ars* advocates having the heart and soul ready "up to godward," *YW*, II, 408.

than al the subtyl clerkes of the olde grekes");¹⁰⁹ the belief that Our Lord and the saints are the truest exemplars of good dying;¹¹⁰ the danger of attachment when one comes to die the "love of this lyfe." Two of Lupset's humanistic friends, it should be remembered, Erasmus, whom he met at Cambridge in 1513 and with whom he was on intimate terms,¹¹¹ and St. Thomas More, who was like him a pupil of Colet, themselves wrote works on death, both in the old tradition. Lupset admits the presence of the deathbed temptations as they do, temptations to avarice, despair, and impatience; but he does not consider them so important. ". . . these thinges," he says, "make not chefely the feare of dying: it may well be that of suche thynges the feare is increased and made more fulle, but there is a feare byfore and bysyde all these thynges, the whiche feare nature (I say) gyueth. . . ."¹¹²

In a sort of death anthology in MS Tanner 118 there is a work with the title "A compendious treatise teaching the waye of dying well" (ff. 58-75b). From photostats I should conclude that this work is Lupset's treatise in abbreviated form.

The *Doctrynaile of Dethe* printed by de Worde in 1532 is evidently of the *Ars moriendi* group, since it "is to be rede afore a man or a woman whan it semeth that they be in the artycle of deth." The printer, according to his habit, used the cuts of TImp and TAv to illustrate the work.¹¹³

The *Dayly exercyse and experience of dethe*, written in the early sixteenth century by Richard Whytforde, English translator of the *Imitatio Christi*, for the "Dame Elizabeth Gybs, the Abbess of Syon," and published by Wayland in 1537, is one of the art-of-dying books, according to Miss White.¹¹⁴

Father Robert Parsons's famous *Christian Directory*,¹¹⁵ although in

¹⁰⁹ Gee's ed., p. 266.

¹¹⁰ He singles out St. Paul and St. Lawrence. It is interesting to conjecture how Lupset might have regarded the art of dying displayed by his friend Thomas More had he himself lived five years longer.

¹¹¹ Erasmus entrusted the MS of his *De morte declamatio* to Lupset. Gee's ed. pp. 53, 56.

¹¹² Gee's ed., p. 273. ¹¹³ Hodnett, *op. cit.*, 187.

¹¹⁴ *English Devotional Literature*, p. 70. See also Ames, *op. cit.*, III, 242-43. And Gasquet, *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, No. 7, p. 180.

¹¹⁵ "Revised" and Protestantized (1584) by Edmund Bunny as *Bunny's Resolution* (see White, *English Devotional Literature*, pp. 143-49). For Father Parsons's text see the edition of Cork, 1805.

it the faith versus good works controversy of the early Reformation is not mentioned, lays so much stress in its section on death on good works as a preparation that it is practically an *ars vivendi*. The only deathbed temptation discussed is despair, and the only real instruction in the art of dying is based on a series of *exempla* showing good and bad deaths from the Fathers and from history. His three points on the misery of death, however, contain several of the ideas of the *Ars moriendi*, including the dissimulation of physicians; the pains of the body; fear, reluctance to part with wife, children, and possessions as cause of suffering at death.

In the Folger Library there are two editions of a little *Manuall of godly Prayers* (1613 and 1616), which contains a section with the title "An advertisement for the sicke diligently to prepare himselfe to die well." Temptations to attachment and impatience are implied, and also despair, with a single *remedium*, "embrace in thy heart his wholesome Crosse, kisse his ruddie woundes, and thrust thy selfe with all thy power into them . . ."—an early indication of devotion to the physical sufferings of Christ apparent in some seventeenth-century English writings, especially in the poems of Richard Crashaw. A cut in the 1613 edition, in which a dying monk's soul, in the form of a child, passes into the hands of the waiting angel, while a devil with various animal features stands by the bed in an attitude of fury or despair, is obviously related to the woodcuts of the *Ars moriendi*.¹¹⁶

POST-REFORMATION BOOKS

LATIN

In his *Tractatus de visitatione infirmorum* (1697) John Stearne,¹¹⁷ bishop of Dromore, vice-chancellor of Dublin University, and friend and associate of Dean Swift,¹¹⁸ apologizes for using the interrogations,

¹¹⁶ Father Robert Southwell, S.J., who gave his life for his faith under Queen Elizabeth (1595), wrote a *Four-fold Meditation of the Foure Last Things*, which speaks of despair and of the pains of the sickness attendant upon death, but since these are introduced as part of a deathbed picture to turn a careless Christian to a better life, there is little genuine connection with the *Ars moriendi*.

¹¹⁷ (1660–1745). See Arber's Term Catalogue, III, 27. The Union Theological Seminary copy is London, 1768. The work was translated into English as the *Curate's Manual*, London, 1840.

¹¹⁸ Stearne probably owed to Swift his elevation to the episcopate, and also the deanship of St. Patrick's, Dublin. He met Swift and Stella at the Sunday meetings of a small social club for cards and other diversions (DNB, LIV, 198–99).

but gives those of St. Anselm, together with a much fuller set which he attributes to Archbishop Laud.¹¹⁹ His *Tractatus*, unlike the *Ars moriendi*, however, offers different methods for attending different conditions of sick folk. At the end Stearne includes a classified bibliography of books for the sick and the dying.¹²⁰

GERMAN

Although Luther's *Sermon von Bereitung zum Sterben*¹²¹ contains nothing contrary to Catholic doctrine,¹²² it was written two years after the ninety-five theses at Wittenberg and therefore should be classed as of the post-Reformation. The theme (the overcoming of the fears born of the pictures of death, sin, and hell presented by the devil, by means of those which Christ presents—life, goodness, and heaven) is probably inspired by the scheme of the old QS version of the *Ars*. And possibly from the block books is the horrible appearance of Satan as he comes to tempt the dying. Much of the text is on the subject of the struggle with him, and temptations to despair and attachment are mentioned by name, and directions are given for vanquishing them. As in Staupitz's book, which influenced Luther in the writing of this sermon,¹²³ the "temptations" of Christ on the Cross are offered as models to those tempted on their deathbeds.¹²⁴ The work differs from the *Ars* in Luther's stress on the sacraments as an

¹¹⁹ William Crashaw also apologized for using the interrogations.

¹²⁰ 1768 ed., p. 23.

¹²¹ Printed often in its own century, many times with a title suggestive of the German *Ars: Ein nützlich und fast tröstlich predig oder unterrichtung wie sich ein Christen mensch mit freuden bereyten sol zu sterben* (see the Weimar ed. of Luther's works, 1883-1939, II, 6. The *Sermon* is edited in this printing, II, 680-97, also in the Erlangen ed., XXI, 253 ff., and the Berlin ed., VI, 62-80. For a discussion of the work see Julius Köstlin's *Martin Luther*, I, 281-82. The *Sermon* was printed in Latin at Leipzig by Melchior Lotter, 1520, and s.d. at Antwerp by Michael Hillenius. It is to be found in Latin in a modern edition [ed. by Henry Schmidt, 1865-73], XXXIV, 453-73).

¹²² In addition to exhorting the sick to receive the sacraments and praying to the saints one should, he says, hold a wooden crucifix before them.

¹²³ See Scheel, *op. cit.*, II, 206. Death seems to have been much on Luther's mind. He tells us that he entered the Augustinian monastery because of a vow made in fear of sudden death during a thunderstorm (*Encyc. Brit.*, 14th ed., XIV, 491). Scheel says that Luther's father at the deathbed of the old Graf Günther may have followed the method of the *Ars moriendi*, using the Anselm Questions (*op. cit.*, I, 15-16).

¹²⁴ Helmut Appel gives in some detail the relation between Luther and the *Ars moriendi* (*op. cit.*, pp. 112-15, 121-24). He finds the influence of the *Sterbebüchlein* upon the reformer very marked (*ibid.*, p. 112).

aid to good dying,¹²⁵ but agrees with it in the value attached to prayer to Our Lady, the saints, and the angels.

ENGLISH

The England of Elizabeth and the Stuarts, different in a multitude of ways from the England that produced the *Ars moriendi*, was yet like it in its awareness of death and its abundance of death literature. In the Elizabethan age there were books with titles such as *Ane fruitful a. comfortable exhortatioun anent death*;¹²⁶ *A christian exhortacon taken out of the scripture for the comfort of the faithfull person beinge in agony of Death*;¹²⁷ *A pretie songe of the Judgement day when death shall fetche all awaie*;¹²⁸ *A memorye of Deathe. howe busie he bragges to checke in the checker Amonge the great bagges*.¹²⁹ There were poems like the "Thinke to Die," possibly written by Edwyn Sandys,¹³⁰ and essays like Bacon's "On Death."¹³¹ Other works of that period made a lesson of dying (*A Treatysse to teche a man to dye and not to feare deth*)¹³² and *The Maner to dye well*),¹³³ but it is in the first half of the seventeenth century that the significanee of the lesson impressed itself upon public consciousness and made itself heard in sermon and book with some of the vigor of two hundred years before.¹³⁴ "Of death and judgment, heaven and hell, who oft does think, must needs die well," wrote Sir Walter Raleigh.¹³⁵ And Sir Thomas Browne, "To learn to die is better than to study ways of dying."¹³⁶ And Robert Boyle, "If we Dye ill

¹²⁵ The *Ars* seems to have been written as an aid to those to whom the priest's aid was not available. ¹²⁶ By J. M., Edinburgh, 1597. STC, No. 17138.

¹²⁷ Stationers' Register, 15 May 1579. STC, No. 21500.

¹²⁸ Stationers' Register, 15 Nov. 1578. ¹²⁹ Stationer's Register, 23 May (1578).

¹³⁰ Or possibly Dr. Sands? Edited by the Parker Society in *Select Poetry, Chiefly Devotional, of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, 21, Vol. II, No. xxxi.

¹³¹ Montaigne had written "That to Philosophize is to Learn to Die." He had death much on his mind after the passing of his friend La Boétie.

¹³² This is really pre-Elizabethan (1538).

¹³³ Watt, *Bibliotheca Britannica*, II, 553v. Printed at London by Richard Jones, 1578, 1588.

¹³⁴ The widespread interest in death, as in the fifteenth century, was owing to a prevalence of the plague.

¹³⁵ "Sir Walter Raleigh's Pilgrimage," in *Poems*, ed. by J. Hannah, p. 29.

¹³⁶ *Christian Morals*, Pt. II, p. 13. Elsewhere, strange to say, Browne remarks that he is not so much afraid of death itself as of what it will do to his body. His wife and children will start away; and the birds and beasts, which before in natural fear obeyed him, will prey on him (*Religio medici*, I, xl.).

once, we shall never be allowed to Dye again, to see if we would Dye better the second time. . . ." ¹³⁷ Walton says that Donne had studied the art of dying a long time and was ready when God called him. ¹³⁸ Bishop Ken made Our Lord the teacher in a poem called "Jesus Teaches to Die," ¹³⁹ as the fourth part of the CP text had done.

A list of the most "vendible" books of 1658 ¹⁴⁰ includes many on death. ¹⁴¹ Works about death and dying crop up everywhere, especially in the first half of the century. In 1614 was printed Stephen Jerome's *Moses his Sight of Canaan; with Simeon his Dying Song; directing how to live holily and dye happily*, ¹⁴² in 1620, John Rogers's *Discourse of Christian Watchfulness; how to live, and how to die*, ¹⁴³ in 1621, *Comfortable considerations preparing the sicke for a happie change*, ¹⁴⁴ in 1628, *The doctrine of dying well*, ¹⁴⁵ in 1629, James Cole's *Of death a true description*, ¹⁴⁶ in 1632, *Mr Boltons last and learned worke Of the last four things*, ¹⁴⁷ in the same year, with reprintings in 1636 and 1639, R. Winterton's translation of *The considerations of Death upon Eternity* by Hieremias Drexelius, ¹⁴⁸ some time before 1634 Richard Verstegan's translation of the *Dialogue of dying wel*, which Peter Luca had written in Italian, ¹⁴⁹ in 1635, a ballad, *Deaths loud allarum*, ¹⁵⁰ and as late as 1684, John Dunton's *The sickman's passing bell with*

¹³⁷ *Occasional Reflections*, Sect. II, p. xi.

¹³⁸ *The Library of the Old English Prose Writers*, V, 103.

¹³⁹ "Then He Himself for death disposed,
Of dying well the art disclosed . . .
'Since Jesus you the art of dying taught,'
Said Conscience, 'keep death always in your thought . . .'"

Preparatives for Death, p. 180.

¹⁴⁰ London, *A Catalogue of the Most Vendible Books in England*.

¹⁴¹ For example, a work on the Four Last Things by Mr. Birbeck; *Comforts against the fear of Death*, by Mr. Collings; *The Devotion of the Dying man, that desires to die well*, by Dr. Gardiner; *God's eternal preparation for his dying saints*, by Dr. Hill.

¹⁴² Watt, *op. cit.*, II, 547a; STC, No. 14512.

¹⁴³ Minister of Chacombe, Northamptonshire. Watt, *op. cit.*, II, 812m; STC, No. 21185.

¹⁴⁴ London says by Mr. Day. This was one of the most "vendible" books of 1658. STC, No. 5635.

¹⁴⁵ STC, No. 6934. Possibly by G. Shawe. Stationers' Register, 28 July 1621.

¹⁴⁶ STC, No. 5533.

¹⁴⁷ STC, No. 3242. Stationers' Register, 15 May 1632. One of the most "vendible" books of 1658. ¹⁴⁸ STC, No. 7235.

¹⁴⁹ STC, No. 19815. Luca's work was Antwerp, 1603. Watt says that Verstegan was principally known as an antiquary (*op. cit.*, II, 620f, 933g).

¹⁵⁰ By R. Climsell? STC, No. 20568.

the sighs and groans of a dying man,¹⁵¹ as well as a group of far more important works to be handled hereafter in their relation to the *Ars moriendi*.¹⁵²

Very fine and somewhat full discussion of the post-Reformation devotional literature of England has been given us by Louis B. Wright¹⁵³ and Miss Helen C. White.¹⁵⁴ Mr. Wright lays emphasis on the practicality which the religious books of the period shared with popular instruction of a more secular nature.¹⁵⁵ Like books on good manners, they were brief¹⁵⁶ printed guides to correct behavior, a Northwest Passage¹⁵⁷ to salvation. Miss White points out the characteristics distinguishing these works from the devotional literature of medieval times, from which many of them derived. She remarks on their belief in predestination and the all-importance on faith,¹⁵⁸ together with their reliance on Scripture as a final authority;¹⁵⁹ their strong sense of sin,¹⁶⁰ their consciousness of the misery and baseness of man,¹⁶¹ but with it a distinctly modern present-worldliness¹⁶² which allowed them to enjoy the good things of this world with the blessing of God. Perhaps an outgrowth of the justification-by-faith-alone belief is the increased stress on the importance of Christ's sacrifice and the Redemption, with a consequent lessening in significance of His life as a pattern for our own.¹⁶³ There was much talk of "true repentance" (with an almost complete skepticism of deathbed repentance) and of "godliness" and "sobriety" and "comfort,"¹⁶⁴ a fondness for extemporaneous prayer as opposed to set forms,¹⁶⁵ and prompt

¹⁵¹ Stationers' Register, 12 June 1684. ¹⁵² *Infra*.

¹⁵³ *Middle-class Culture in Elizabethan England*. ¹⁵⁴ *English Devotional Literature*.

¹⁵⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 79. Such works as Thomas Becon's and Zachary Boyd's were certainly not practical as methods of dying (*infra*).

¹⁵⁶ A favorite word in the titles of devotional books was *pithy*, but it could not be applied to Becon's or Boyd's. ¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

¹⁵⁸ *English Devotional Literature*, pp. 58, 203 ff. Miss White says, however, that although this tenet was officially accepted, in actual practice it was not applied with rigor and literal consistency (*ibid.*, p. 187). ¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 187. ¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 206.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 199. ¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 227.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 195. See also Miss White's *Metaphysical Poets*, p. 112. The Protestant writers, however, often make much of Christ as the Exemplar of perfect dying, as does Pt. IV of the CP text.

¹⁶⁴ Miss White speaks of the caution in the very vocabulary of these books: "sober," "just," "godly," "comfortable," "profitable" (*English Devotional Literature*, p. 233).

¹⁶⁵ Maxwell, *Outline of Christian Worship*, p. 181.

and thorough suspicion, and generally condemnation, of anything "Romish."¹⁶⁶ St. Augustine, St. Bernard, and a few other Fathers were quoted, but citations from their works were greatly outnumbered by those from the Scriptures.¹⁶⁷

With regard to the seventeenth-century English books on preparation for death it should be stated that upon at least some of them the office for the visitation of the sick in the *Book of Common Prayer* may have been a stronger influence than was the *Ars moriendi*. The English ritual contains exhortations to patience and faith¹⁶⁸ and sorrow for sin and directs the minister to question the sick on faith, repentance, and charity toward all mankind. Perhaps the feeling for "elasticity" noticeable in the Protestant books of the seventeenth century had something to do with this body of how-to-die literature, identical in purpose with the liturgical office, but varying greatly from it. Even the concern of many of the later books with the disposal of the sick man's estate,¹⁶⁹ although it seems merely a part of the "present-worldliness" already mentioned, may derive from a direction in the old Sarum Manual,¹⁷⁰ which was used as the basis of the *Book of Common Prayer*. Possibly the Puritan books owe something to the *Parliamentary Directory*,¹⁷¹ which in its "Visitation of the Sick" is more a method than a ritual, and is therefore closer than the *Book of Common Prayer* to the *Ars moriendi*.

In the books described hereafter I feel, nevertheless, that even where there has been the influence of the English liturgy the writer has also been aware of the old art-of-dying literature and what it contained, although holding it, as Coverdale, William Crashaw, and Jeremy Taylor did, in disapproval. The tradition of the *ars moriendi* was too powerful to be crushed even by the fierceness of Puritanism,

¹⁶⁶ Miss White discusses the "fierce partisanship" of the writers of these books, *English Devotional Literature*, p. 230.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 79, 177. Works of St. Augustine and St. Ambrose were among the most "vendible" books of 1658 (London, *op. cit.*).

¹⁶⁸ The Sarum Manual quotes St. Paul on the primary importance of charity.

¹⁶⁹ The CP text mentions the making of a will, but the direction is not elaborated. See *YW*, II, 416.

¹⁷⁰ But the Manual advised that wills be made in time of health.

¹⁷¹ See Hall, *Reliquiae liturgicae, Documents Connected with the Liturgy of the Church of England*, III, 66. The *Parliamentary Directory* was made by the Commonwealth (1643) as a substitute for the *Book of Common Prayer*.

and its literary usefulness too great in an age when death was a subject of primary importance. Probably if it had been more dogmatic or controversial, it might have been passed over; but the Protestant devotional writers found it readily adaptable or without need of adaptation, and hence it crops out time and time again in a great body of Protestant writing which guided much of the thought of England for the greater part of a century.

One of the most popular of the post-Reformation books, and one of the most Protestant, was the *Sicke Mannes Salve*¹⁷² written before 1560 by the Puritan leader Thomas Becon, author of various works of the same general kind.¹⁷³ Becon is Protestant in his free interpretation of Scripture, which he quotes superabundantly; his belief in predestination, with its stress upon the all-importance of faith; his abhorrence of the Roman Catholic Church, approximating frenzy in some of his passages;¹⁷⁴ and his sharp concern with every theological question of his period. But its impracticality, more than its Protestantism, distinguishes the *Sicke Mannes Salve* from the medieval books on the art of dying. As a method for the deathbed the *Ars moriendi* is essentially practical. Becon, Puritan in his mistrust of the ministrations of the clergy, has put Moriens, here called Epaphroditus, into the hands of four of his friends and has made the book a dialogue between him and them. Actually a man at the peak of good health would be overcome by exhaustion before the four were half through, but the hardy Epaphroditus has a seemingly endless flow of language, very good language, too. Now and then Becon feebly attempts realism by having him exclaim, "Oh, how sick am I! My weakness increases more and more!" or "I am very faint";¹⁷⁵ but

¹⁷² *The Sicke mannes Salve, wherein the faithfull Christians may learne both how to behaue themselves paciently and thankfully in the tyme of sickenes, and also vertuously to dispose their temporall goods, and finally to prepare themselves gladly and godly to dye.* In sixty years there were seventeen editions.

¹⁷³ Published by the Parker Society, Vols. IX, XIII, and XVII. Also as "The Sickmans [or Sickmans or Syckmans] Salve," in Becon's *Worckes*, London, 1563, ff. ccxix^r–cclxxxiii^v. There is a copy in the Columbia University Library.

¹⁷⁴ In the 1563 ed. little hands in the margin often emphasize anti-Catholic passages.

¹⁷⁵ This is said after he has instructed his wife for nearly five folio pages (Parker Society ed., p. 130). Elsewhere he asks to have his head raised higher ("A little thing, God knoweth, disquieteth this my sick and weak body"; *ibid.*, p. 146), and toward the end says that he feels cold creeping over his body (*ibid.*, p. 180).

since shortly thereafter he breaks into more long-winded discourse, especially if he sees an opportunity to rail at Catholic doctrine, his groans do not carry much conviction.¹⁷⁶ To Epaphroditus an important element in dying well is the making of a will, giving directions for his funeral, and instructing his wife and children. One of his most interesting bequests is to poor scholars at Cambridge and Oxford¹⁷⁷ and one of his shrewdest directions to his wife is that she may be remarried, but not to a "younker."¹⁷⁸

What brings a book so different from the *Ars moriendi* into the *Ars moriendi* tradition? First, a similarity in purpose. The four friends of Epaphroditus, however misguided their method, were teaching him to die. Secondly, a similarity in some of the matter. Many of the ideas of the *Ars* are there—the inevitability of death and the necessity of dying willingly; late repentance and, strangely, some hope for the tardily repentant;¹⁷⁹ temptations to impatience and despair¹⁸⁰ and to fear for the loss of friends, with help and consolation from the four faithful friends in place of the angel of the block books. Some of the words of the Fathers which they use for this purpose are those of the CP text.¹⁸¹ Thirdly, there is in some of Becon's phrasing an echo of the *Crafte*: "the health of your soul",¹⁸² "murmur, grudge . . . against the holy will";¹⁸³ "a good and glad will to die."¹⁸⁴

¹⁷⁶ Far from being worn out by the ministrations of his friends, Epaphroditus listens to their stories and asks for more, like a child clamoring for fairy tales (*ibid.*, p. 106).

¹⁷⁷ Becon says, "For if they be not maintained, all learning and virtue will decay, and a very barbary shall brast in among us, and at the last bring this our realm unto destruction. And verily the love of many now-a-days toward good letters, is very cold: insomuch that we see daily many good wits compelled, for lack of exhibition, to forsake the university and to become servingmen, which kind of life is most abominable, and unworthy a good nature" (*ibid.*, pp. 118-19).

¹⁷⁸ He advises his son on picking a wife (who, of course, must not be a papist—nor, by the way, an anabaptist or epicure, *ibid.*, p. 133) and his daughters against fortune hunters. A difference from the *Ars* in this book is the concern of the dying man for the disposal of his body, with mourners and coaches and gowns and burying-grounds (*ibid.*, pp. 120-21). In his will he leaves £20 for eighty sermons (*ibid.*, p. 118), but he adds, "The greatest part of our beneficed men (God help us!) are blind guides, and dumb dogs, not once able to bark" (*ibid.*, p. 120).

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 167. He refers to the Good Thief and to the Parable of the Vineyard.

¹⁸⁰ Epaphroditus is twice tempted to despair (*ibid.*, pp. 100, 156). There is some realism in Becon here, as the second temptation is more severe than the first.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 104, 156. ¹⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 113, 115. ¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 178, 185. Becon has written another work, a much shorter treatise, *The Solace of the Soul* ("veri comfortable against the bytter stormes of siknes and death, greatly encouragynge the faythful both paciently and thankfully to suffer the good pleasure of

Myles Coverdale's little heard-of *Treatise on Death* (1579)¹⁸⁵ is not really his at all, but was translated by him from the work of Otto Werdmueller.¹⁸⁶ It is generally attributed to him, as are several pieces which are merely translations.

Coverdale disapproved of Catholic practice in dealing with the sick,¹⁸⁷ yet his treatise (or Werdmueller's?)¹⁸⁸ shows the influence of the *Ars moriendi*, especially in what he calls his second book. The title page reads in part: "A most frutefull piththye and learned treatyse, how a christen man oughte to behaue hymselfe in the daunger of death"—except for the aspiration to learning, the purpose of the *Ars*. Further similarity is suggested in Coverdale's statement that he wrote especially for his own unrepentant, plague-stricken time.¹⁸⁹ He begins as the CP text does with a commendation of death, which releases us from prison and brings us into our own country, delivering us from the five ages of life, all miserable: "After seven years the child has his tutors and school masters to beat him with rods. . . . The old man thinketh that he carrieth an heavy burden or mountain upon his neck."¹⁹⁰ He includes a set of interrogations and temptations to despair¹⁹¹ and attachment with which "ghostly adversaries" torment a dying man (but "God commandeth his angels that they . . . look unto thee . . . when thou diest"); and passages on the need for patience,¹⁹² especially for faith in the last hour, al-

God in all kynde of adversyte"), in which he describes the soul's deathbed struggle with the devil (see the Parker Society Publications, XIII, 571 ff.).

¹⁸⁵ Printed by the Parker Society, XXII, Cambridge, 1846.

¹⁸⁶ The work seems to have been wrongly ascribed to Lady Jane Dudley (see STC, No. 7282). Here it is dated 1553. In the Parker Society ed. (pp. 133-34) the *Treatise* is followed by an exhortation written by Lady Jane the night before her death and sent to her sister, Lady Katharine, with the New Testament in Greek.

¹⁸⁷ After speaking of the words one should use to remind a sick man of the mercy of God, Coverdale says, "Afterward ought not the mind of the sick to be disturbed or pointed hither and thither, up and down, as (the more pity!) they use to do in papistry, but only onto God the Father, through Jessu Christ . . ." (Parker ed., p. 103). He may be objecting to the prayers to Our Lady, St. Michael, and the other saints.

¹⁸⁸ I have not found Werdmueller's original and therefore cannot say how much of the matter is actually his.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 41. ¹⁹⁰ The "ages" are not from the *Ars*.

¹⁹¹ The title of the section is, strangely, "That Death in Itself Is Grievous to the Body and Soul."

¹⁹² Coverdale gives examples of patience in death—Our Lord, Simeon (beside his name a marginal note: "A lesson to learn to die"), the Good Thief, St. Stephen, St. Paul, and Socrates.

though these last are not handled as temptations. In more trivial points there is indication of relationship; the quotation from Aristotle regarding the terribleness of bodily death; the warning against giving the sick too much hope of recovery; the exhortation to Christians to help one another die; a few quotations from the Church Fathers,¹⁹³ occasional *ars vivendi* material.

He has a good word to say for the possibility of sincerity in late repentance, and, unlike many of the other post-Reformation writers, he believes that will-making, alms-giving, and patching up quarrels should be attended to in the time of health.¹⁹⁴ He is clearly Protestant in his passages on predestination and the all-importance of faith and has the new scientific attitude in his recognition of the need for physicians and medicine;¹⁹⁵ but he is surprisingly out of tune with his time in his characterization of the writings of the ancients on death as childish and foolish.¹⁹⁶ Coverdale would be greatly pained to know how much resemblance there was between his *Treatise* and the Catholic books of which he thought so poorly.

It is perhaps the gentler nature of Christopher Sutton¹⁹⁷ which makes his *Disce mori: Learne to Die* (1600)¹⁹⁸ so much more kindly

¹⁹³ Chiefly St. John Chrysostom and St. Augustine.

¹⁹⁴ Ch. XL. The Sarum Use gives the same direction. Of almsgiving he says "For that which thou upon thy death-bed appointest for them is not always distributed; and though it be, yet it is no more thine. Some do even as the wife, that would give none of her pottage to any body, till her pot was overthrown; then called she the poor unto it."

¹⁹⁵ "When one is taken with a disease, to be let blood, to sweat, to follow the physician's instruction; such things are in wise to be reprehended, so that, whether it turn to death or life, the heart only and hope hang on God" (*ibid.*, p. 69). ". . . physic is permitted of God, as in the time of pestilence with fires and perfumes to make the air more wholesome from poison, and to receive somewhat into the body, for the consuming of evil humors, and to hinder the infection" (*ibid.*).

¹⁹⁶ He mentions Plato, Aristotle, Cicero "the greatest-learned and wisest" (*ibid.*, p. 40). But he sometimes quotes the pagans (*ibid.*, p. 86).

¹⁹⁷ Sutton was a celebrated preacher (d. 1629). His sermon at the funeral of the antiquary Camden was praised by Anthony à Wood. For his life see the memoir in the 1840 edition and also à Wood. He dedicated the *Disce mori* "To the Honourable and Virtuous, his very good lady, the Lady Elizabeth Southwell, one of the Ladies of the Queen's Majesty's most honourable Privy Chamber" (1840 ed., p. xxvii). Lady Elizabeth was widow of his patron Sir Robert Southwell. Sutton's family was high in favor with Queen Elizabeth, to whom he gives in the *Disce mori* some rather fulsome praise.

¹⁹⁸ There was an enlarged edition in 1609, and the work was reprinted in 1616, 1618, and 1662. It was edited in Oxford in 1839 and 1845 and in London by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1840. There was an American edition in 1845, and a Welsh version was made in 1852. In 1634 it was issued bound with Sutton's second work, *Disce*

than Thomas Becon's; or it may be that the Church of England had found by the beginning of the seventeenth century a mature religious tradition¹⁹⁹ to work in. At any rate, he is concerned with his own problem, not with controversy, and the result is that his *Disce Mori* is closer to the old Catholic *Ars moriendi* than some of the earlier Protestant books are.

Living, as the fifteenth-century author of the *Ars* had done, when the spirit of religion was out of joint,²⁰⁰ Sutton wrote his work with much the same purpose. According to the frontispiece of the first edition, printed at London by John Wolfe in 1600, *Disce mori* was a Religious discourse, mouuing euery Christian man to enter into a serious remembrance of his ende. Wherein also is contained the meane and manner of disposing himselfe to God, before, and at the time of his departure. In the whole, somewhat happily may be obserued, necessary to be thought upon, while we are alive, and when we are dying, to advise our selues, and others.²⁰¹

More than once Sutton, like the earlier author, laments the supreme folly of those who neglected the art of all arts while there was time to learn it; and he divides his book, as did his predecessor, between directions for the dying man himself and for his faithful friend.²⁰²

Sutton says with the author of the *Ars* that death is a debt, and, since life is nothing to lose, is only a going into one's own city; that because sickness is sometimes caused by sin, the minister, not the physician, should be sent for; that the perfection of our knowledge is to know God and ourselves; that the devil, rebuffed, tries a fresh temptation; that because his time is so short, he works hardest in our death hour; that he strives always to make us forget our last end; that the philosopher has called death the most terrible of all things terrible (but he adds that a Christian cannot accept this characterization).

vivere, a treatise more mystical than the *Disce mori*, urging that the life of Christ be made the model of all Christian living. Cardinal Newman wrote the Preface to an 1838 reprint. I have used the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge edition, which is taken from the first. The editor (p. xxv) states that in some of the later editions objectionable and questionable matter was interpolated.

¹⁹⁹ White, *English Devotional Literature*, pp. 22 ff.

²⁰⁰ 1840 ed., p. xxxi. ²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. xxi.

²⁰² P. xl. He devotes fifteen chapters to the behavior of the dying man and seven to that of his friends.

In the angel's place by the bed of the dying the faithful friend helps to strengthen the belief of the sufferer and to combat his temptations to attachment, impatience, and despair. The interrogations are not given outright, but implied in what is to be "called to mind" by the sick or "proposed" to him. There are prayers to be said by him and by those present, together with a sort of litany and a "Commendatio anime." The work is laden with quotations from the Scriptures and the Fathers, but borrows from the ancients only sparingly. In fact, there is little evidence in Sutton of enthusiasm for the Renaissance. In his praise of the *ars moriendi*, with which, as in the old *Ars*, the work begins, he asks a series of questions implying the superiority of the art of dying to each of the seven liberal arts:

... what is it to have the force of Demosthenes? the persuasive art of Tully so great an orator? what is it by arithmetical account, to divide the least fractions, and with the man of God never to think of numbering the days we have yet to live? what is it by geometry to take the longitude of the most spacious prospects, and not to measure that which the prophet calleth only a span?²⁰³

Sutton, moreover, works into his book some of the "unnatural natural history" that the Middle Ages so loved—the basilisk,²⁰⁴ the tigress lured from watching her young by a mirror, the eagle acknowledging as her own the eaglets which could stare unblinking at the sun.

What make the *Disce mori* different from the *Ars moriendi* are (1) the additions—the *ars vivendi*; the *Ubi sunt?* passage; the signs of death; the abundant examples; the débats between Faith and the Natural Man, Discontent and Hope, Presumption and Fear; and the sections for those exposed to sudden death or bereaved by death; (2) the atmosphere of "godliness" permeating it; (3) the "social-mindedness" which Mr. Wright has remarked in it;²⁰⁵ (4) the style, which is rich in figure²⁰⁶ and quotation and erudite reference and, although in want of the chastening hand of Dryden, is often energetic

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 4. ²⁰⁴ Sutton sees the devil with the animal features of the block-book cuts.

²⁰⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 251.

²⁰⁶ Examples of Sutton's figures: "The rainbow, as it hath a watery color, which may show us what hath been past; so hath it also a fiery to signify what is to come. Satan's fierce rage may argue the shortness of his time; the coldness and barrenness of the earth and trees show the qualities of aged bodies, or in effect tell us, there will come a time when we shall not have any longer the use of them" (1840 ed., p. 196). "When, with the spider, we have

and never wearisome. Unlike Thomas Becon and Zachary Boyd, Sutton realized the fierce strain of prolonged discourse upon the sick and therefore gave his material sufficient point and variety to save his method of dying from becoming an insupportable burden in their last hours.²⁰⁷

*A Manuall for true Catholickes or a Handfull: Rather a heartfull of holy Meditations and Prayers Gathered out of certaine Ancient Manuscripts written 300. yeares agoe, and more (1616)*²⁰⁸ by Richard Crashaw's father, William,²⁰⁹ is one of the few books in which the author admits his indebtedness to the *Ars moriendi*. William Crashaw feared the Church of which his son became so devoted a member, and hence his admission is grudging and somewhat cautious,²¹⁰ as if he hesitated to recommend any part of a book out of "those mistie times" of popery. What he liked were the interrogations,²¹¹ with their direct dependence for salvation upon the sufferings of Christ, and the "Commendatio anime"; and these he quotes in full. Here is a true, holy, Catholic, and ancient way to heaven, he says, through Christ and His merits, without *agnus dei* or wooden crucifix.

And if any man suspect [he adds] that this be devised by us and falsly fatered upon Antiquitie, let him know, that not only we have the ancient copies, whose age will speake for themselves, but even the better sort of Papists that bee learned, doe know this well enough. A learned Papist of this age writeth that in a church in Coloine this very book is extant and that he hath seene it, and that this manner of comforting the sicke was used in former ages, and confesseth that it containes the very

exhausted our very bowels to make a slender web, one puff of wind carries all away: when we have endeavored to the uttermost to mount aloft, suddenly death doth clip the wings of our soaring endeavors, and down we fall" (*ibid.*, p. 173).

²⁰⁷ Sutton warns specifically against wearying the sick with tedious discourse (*ibid.*, p. 142).

²⁰⁸ This is the date of the edition, printed at London, which is in the Harvard Library. White dates the *Manuall* 1611 (*op. cit.*, p. 74 n.).

²⁰⁹ One of the most distinguished preachers of his age (*ibid.*, p. 14).

²¹⁰ He says of the *Ars*, which had been used by "our Forefathers in the time of Popery . . . by which it may appeare that though they were misled by the crafty Romish Clergy in divers errors and superstitions; yet in the great point of the meanes of salvation they were of our religion, and were saved by it" (*ibid.*, p. 47).

²¹¹ He quotes two sets. One of the ancient books which he had access to was attributed to Gerson (*ibid.*, p. 54). His quotations, he says, were "Truly and verbatim Englished out of Latine being an ancient copie . . ." (*ibid.*, p. 47).

treasure and kernell of the Christian Religion and saith further, that this manner was used not in Germany onely, but over all the Christian world.²¹²

The relationship between Lancelot Andrewes's *Manual of Directions for the Sick* (before 1626)²¹³ and the *Ars moriendi* is not close, but since Andrewes²¹⁴ is known to have owned a copy of the older book, whatever similarity appears between the two is probably the result of direct influence. He is concerned with patience and contrition in the sick, but he makes no mention of the demons who try to lead them away from virtue. As was the case with William Crashaw, what he found most useful in the *Ars* were the interrogations, which he amplifies into a series remarkable for thoroughness:

Are you grieved that you are no more grieved for your sins? Do you desire to have your mind illuminated by God touching those sins you never knew; or which you once knew, but have now forgotten,²¹⁵ that you may repent them? If your sense fail you, or if the pain of your disease, or weakness otherwise so work with you, as it shall happen with your tongue to speak otherwise than this your faith or religion would; Do you renounce all such words as none of yours?²¹⁶

Evidently Andrewes wished his *Manual* to be a "comfortable" book: He includes Comfortable Scriptures to be used to the Sick Party, Heads of Comfort to be administered from the consideration of God and Christ, Spiritual comforts . . . issuing from the contemplation of

²¹² The "learned Papist," according to Crashaw's reference, is Caspar Ulenberg, in *Lib. de causis causa* No. 14, p. 462, ed. Colon., 1589. Archbishop Ussher refers to the same author and book in speaking of the Anselm Questions (*op. cit.*, VII, 99). Perhaps it was the Archbishop's copy of the *Ars moriendi* which Crashaw translated from; although himself a Puritan minister, he called upon Ussher to baptize Richard.

²¹³ Bishop Andrewes died in this year. On the occasion Milton, then a student at Cambridge, wrote an elegy in Latin. The *Manual* was edited by Richard Drake, London, 1648. In the Introduction Drake says that he has changed the forms of the morning and evening prayers and added devotions for Holy Communion, translating all of them out of a Greek copy of Andrewes's amanuensis. The work was edited by E. Bickersteth, *The Book of Private Devotions*, and by the *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology*, Vol. VII.

²¹⁴ Miss White says that Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester, is regarded by High Churchmen as one of the greatest defenders of tradition and that his works are more significant for devotion than for any literary quality today (*English Devotional Literature*, p. 247). T. S. Eliot, however, finds his prose inferior only to Newman's (*For Lancelot Andrewes*, p. 24).

²¹⁵ The *Ars* bids Moriens bother only with *unconfessed* sins, that is, with those deliberately withheld in confession.

²¹⁶ The authors of the Catholic books would consider such words indeliberate and therefore blameless.

God's goodness; but granted that the omission of the devils might further this end, his elaboration of the interrogations could hardly have contributed to the sick man's mental peace. He himself, however, made practical use of the work when Vicar of St. Giles, Cripplegate,²¹⁷ and perhaps found it successful because he made only free application of it. F. E. Brightman remarks that the *Manual* of Bishop Andrewes is an example of the freedom with which a minister of the Church of England should deal with the office for the visitation of the sick.²¹⁸ And Andrewes implies in his opening section that the method with a sick man should vary according to his age, character, disposition, education, and keenness of physical senses. The more soul-searching of the interrogations may therefore be intended only for such nerves as could stand them.

In more than one way Zachary Boyd's²¹⁹ *The Last Battell of the Soule in Death* (1628)²²⁰ is reminiscent of Becon's:²²¹ it is in the form of a dialogue (but with a "Pastour" and a "Carnall Friend" to instruct Moriens, here called the "Sicke Man"); it devotes considerable space to the Sicke Man's instructions to wife and children and to discussion of his funeral (but the tone of his discourse to his family is more lofty and less worldly-wise than Becon's, and he is little concerned with what happens to his body); it offers a method of dying which, like Becon's, is exceedingly long, exhausting, and altogether impractical. The Pastour is to devote to the Sicke Man eight entire days (on the last of which he dies), and is to find him on the seventh ready to listen to an interminable description of the Heavenly Jerusalem, with detailed geography of the earthly Jerusalem thrown in.²²²

²¹⁷ Introduction to the *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology* ed., p. 172.

²¹⁸ *The English Rite*, II, ccxxi.

²¹⁹ Zachary Boyd (d. 1653 or 1654) was a prolific writer, "preacher of Gods Word at Glasgow," and for a time Lord Rector of the university there. He dedicated the *Last Battell* to Charles I, whom he asks to "daine it with a blink of your fauour," but whom, far from flattering, he reminds that "La mort mord les Rois aussi." He makes a second dedication to Henrietta Maria and as a preface to his second volume writes a lamentation for the King's sister, the Queen of Bohemia, on the death of her son.

²²⁰ At Edinburgh. Reprinted at Glasgow by George Richardson in 1831. Through the kindness of the Reverend J. W. Falconer, D.D., of the Pine Hill Divinity School, Halifax, Nova Scotia, I have been able to examine a copy of the reprint.

²²¹ It contains 476 pp. Some of the Sicke Man's speeches are very short; few are long as those of Epaphroditus; but the burden upon him is still too great for one in his poor state of health (Boyd refers to Epaphroditus in his address to the reader, 1831 reprint, p. xli).

²²² The Sicke Man asks eagerly for descriptions of Canaan, the Temple, Tabor.

The *Last Battell* shows the influence of the *Ars moriendi* chiefly in the temptations of the Sicke Man to attachment to goods and family, impatience, despair, and unbelief, handled at length and combated with the aid of the Pastour, who supplies salutary Biblical quotation.²²³ Boyd adds at the end of the volume a dispute between St. Michael and Satan, reintroducing the temptation motif and supplying the only scurrility in it.²²⁴ He uses also, and probably from the *Ars*, Aristotle's *terribilium terribilissimum*.²²⁵

There is a link with the old books in his occasional citations from the Sts. Ambrose, Augustine, and Bernard;²²⁶ but he borrows also from the ancients and from Luther and Calvin, and his use of the Scriptures is so lavish as to stamp his work as definitely Protestant. He has much to say of predestination—of the “Godlie” and the “Reprobate,”²²⁷ and apparently he has the Protestant’s utter disbelief in the efficacy of deathbed repentance.²²⁸ As for his additions, one of them looks far backward into Catholic times—a conference “betweene the soule and the bodie of the sicke man lying in a sowne,” but even here there is none of the reproach or recrimination of the early works on this subject;²²⁹ the other additions are of the sort common in post-Reformation books—“A Comfortable Speach for the Widow of the Defunct,” “A Compendiovs Epitaphe, Fit for a Godlie Man Deceased,” “A Comfort for the Fatherlesse,” “A Divine and Heavenlie Discourse, Fit to Bee Read to These That Are Conveened

²²³ The title page to Vol. I reads “Whereby are shoun the diuorse Skirmishes that are betweene the Soule of Man on his Death-bede, and the Enemies of our Saluation.”

²²⁴ “Hee was a cunning clawbacke,” says Satan of the Sicke Man, “and a paunch-pike-thanke” (*ibid.*, p. 444); “an vntrustie Pilferer” (*ibid.*, p. 445) “a Banqueroupt . . . a boisterous reueller . . . a pettie-fogger, a trouble-towne . . . a leaking vessel” (*ibid.*, p. 447).

²²⁵ Part I, “The Question of Priority.”

²²⁶ Devotional writers of the seventeenth century were in the habit of quoting St. Bernard (*White, English Devotional Literature*, p. 79). Boyd apparently quoted whatever would support his point, Catholic, Protestant, or pagan. He quotes St. Robert Bellarmine (1831 ed., p. 298) and Foxe’s *Book of Martyrs* (*ibid.*, p. 421).

²²⁷ For example, *ibid.*, pp. 157–58, 169, 243. But later he quotes from St. James (2: 20) that faith without works is dead. Miss White speaks of the lack of definiteness in this matter, *op. cit.*

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 158. “Some I know will winne out of this world without anie seene blot, or blow for secret blots, they will die also with some formall and perfunctory appearance of repentance.” The Catholic Church does not pass judgment upon the salvation or reprobation of those who repent on their deathbeds, but never fails to give them the sacraments if their repentance seems, to limited human judgment, sincere.

²²⁹ Perhaps because there was no danger of the Sicke Man’s soul being lost.

in the Hovse of Movrning That Thereby the Living May Bee Remembered of Their Mortalitie."

While Boyd's style is in no way remarkable, it has a good deal of the charm of his period in its combination of learning and eloquence and vivid figure.²³⁰ Sometimes, too, he has an honest plainness and sometimes a caustic outspokenness,²³¹ but never is he the bigot or zealot or pious dreamer or anything other than the good pastor standing by his flock in their last battle with death.

George Strode, "Utter-barister of the Middle Temple,"²³² wrote *The Anatomie of Mortalitie* (1618)²³³ for his own private comfort and published it at the request of his friends for the use of others. Although all eight parts of his lengthy, highly-subdivided book are on some phase of death, the fourth, on the right behavior in dying, is most like the *Ars moriendi*. Without mentioning temptations or devils, Strode speaks at length of faith, patience, and sorrow for sin as duties in one's death hour. With the Protestant stress upon faith he makes the art of dying the art of dying by faith; like Coverdale, he cites instances in which the dying man with his last breath protested his faith,²³⁴ and he quotes Luther and Epaminandos on the significance of the moment of death as a gauge of the worth of an individual life, "for the conclusion of our life is the touchstone of all the actions of our life." Finally, after so much that is new comes an echo of the old: "for the art of dying well is the science of all sciences, the way whereunto is to live well, contentedly and peaceably." In his discussion of the duty of obedience, which is really patience, he borrows again from the old phrasing: we must die "without murmuring or grudging . . . for this cause we must first endeavor that our death be

²³⁰ For example, "This world is a Tenise of temptations, wherein the sillie Soule, like a ball without anie ceasing, is tossed from wall to wall, as one waue of the See rusheth vpon another, beeing carried with a gale of winde; so do all sortes of sorrowes heere, as in a moued sea, swell, roll, and rage, with most fearefull rushinges, vpon man, till hee bee turned into froth" (*ibid.*, p. 177).

²³¹ As when he condemns "nice Maidens who eat little in public but are gluttons in private" (*ibid.*, p. 125).

²³² So the text states. Utterbarristers, who sat "uttermost on the formes which are called the Barr," pleaded doubtful cases (*NED*, A.D. 1543, I, 683).

²³³ I have seen the second (1632) edition in the Newberry Library. "Printed by Wm. Jones and are to be sold by Thos. Weaver at the great north-doore of Saint Pauls." Newberry Supplement to *Short-Title Catalogue*, No. 23365. *STC*, No. 23364.

²³⁴ Only the converted thief and St. Stephen are among those in Coverdale.

voluntary, for to die well is to die willingly." The duty of repentance, analogous to TVg in matter, shows no direct borrowing from the *Ars*, but the fourth duty, that of prayer, is probably based in part upon the fourth division of the CP text, in which the actions of Our Lord on the Cross are made the model of all Christian dying.²³⁵

Like most of the post-Reformation authors, Strode introduces frequent quotations from the Bible, but he borrows from the Fathers also or uses their lives or words among his numerous examples. He has as much concern as have other Protestant authors for the sick man's will and the settling of his temporal affairs,²³⁶ but he believes with the Catholics that no physician should be called and no medicine be given before the soul has been cared for.

More popular even than Becon's *Sicke Mannes Salve*²³⁷ and famous today as having been part of Mrs. Bunyan's dowry,²³⁸ is *The Practice of Pietie*, by Lewis Bayly, bishop of Bangor (1612).²³⁹ In its coloring of the old ideas with the new Protestantism Bayly's book is a typical example of the way in which the post-Reformation authors handled the *Crafte of Dyeng*. All the original parts are present, but thickly padded with quotation from the Scriptures and with interpolated Protestant ideas. Sometimes the material of the *Ars* is followed fairly closely:

It is found by continuall experience, that neere the time of death, when the Children of God are weakest, then Satan makes the greatest flourish of his strength; and assailes them with his strongest temptations. For hee knoweth that he must now or never prevaile . . . And . . . he wil now bestirre himself as much as he can and labor to set before their eyes all the grosse sinnes which ever they committed, and the Judgements of God which are due unto them: thereby to drive them if hee can to dispaire; which is a grievouser sinne than alle the sinnes they committed, or hee can accuse them of.

²³⁵ But Strode adds that signs, groans, and tears are more efficacious than prayers. The CP quotes St. Isidore, saying that it is best to pray in the heart (YW II, 414).

²³⁶ See his third section, "Preparation for Death."

²³⁷ Thirty-six editions were made in twenty-four years (White, *English Devotional Literature*, p. 13). ²³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

²³⁹ There is a copy of the 1639 edition in the McGill University Library and one in Rommish in the Columbia University Library. For an interesting bibliography of *The Practice of Pietie* see "Philip Chetwind and the Allott Copyrights" by Harry Farr in the *Library*, 4th ser., XV (No. 2, Sept., 1934), 136-45.

Following are the devil's five "assaults," each containing an "encounter," in which the sick man quotes heavily from the Bible. In the last of these the devil throws the Protestant emphasis on faith by urging that since the sick man has doubted, he might as well despair. The interrogations are evidently based on the set which the CP text took from Gerson, but one question is added to repudiate the intercession of angels and saints.²⁴⁰ In small points there are other anti-Catholic additions: the physician, although it is proper to send for him, should be kept in second place. "But in any wise, take heed that thou, nor none for thee, send unto sorcerers, wizards, charmers, or enchanters for helpe"—and if we judge by what some seventeenth-century writers thought of the Catholic Church, Bayly probably meant her ministers by one or all of these undesirable groups.²⁴¹ A strange inclusion in the text is a plea for confession to a minister, who can give absolution—and Bayly quotes Calvin and Luther to show the rightness of this confessing; but not so strange is the criticism of the Catholic Church for making her members rack their consciences when they feel no distress and enumerate all their sins without exception.²⁴²

As regards will making, which concerned many of the other Protestant writers on death, Bayly advises parents to give of their substance to each child in their lifetime, lest "they thanke deathe and not thee for the portion that thou leavest them" and "so that thy life may seeme an ease, and not a yoke unto them." But he adds shrewdly, "so give as that thy children may still be beholding unto thee, and not thou unto them."²⁴³

An unusual addition to the old matter is in his directions for the behavior of visitors to the sick: They "must have a speciale care not

²⁴⁰ "Dost thou renounce all confidence in all Mediators, or Intercessors, Saints, or Angels, believing that Jesus Christ, the only Mediator of the New Testament, is able perfectly to save them that come unto God by Him . . . ?"

²⁴¹ Another anti-papist touch is his reference to Catholic priests as of "a Gun-powder gospel" (1639 ed., p. 665).

²⁴² In *Holy Dying* Jeremy Taylor called for very minute examination of conscience, more searching than the Catholic Church requires.

²⁴³ Make your will in health time, says Bayly, since "moost of other mens Executors prove almost Executioners . . . And if friends be so unfaithfull in a mans life: how much greater cause hast thou to distrust their fidelity after thy death?"

to stand dumb, and staring in the sick persons face to disquiet him; nor to speak idly, and to ask unprofitable questions. . . ." But in the same passage is an echo of two centuries before:

If they see therefore that the sicke partie is like to die let them not dissemble: but lovingly and discreetly admonish him of his weaknesse, and to prepare for eternall life. One houre well spent, when a mans life is almost outspent, may gaine a man the assurance of eternall life: Sooth him not with the vaine hope of this life, lest thou betray this soule to eternall death.

It is good fortune which seldom befalls threadbare literary material when it is taken up by a great man of letters and clothed with a beauty of style unknown to it before. The *Ars moriendi*, already lucky in having been handled by Savonarola and Erasmus and St. Thomas More, found itself in 1651 in the best of that excellent thing, seventeenth-century prose. By Jeremy Taylor, most eloquent of English divines²⁴⁴ and "prose Shakespeare,"²⁴⁵ the old ideas were given language flowing and figurative, often splendid and sometimes magnificent, without quaintness or queerness and without any loss of the clearness and sincerity of the fifteenth-century original.

In the Epistle Dedicatory of *Holy Dying* (1651)²⁴⁶ Taylor belittles the how-to-die books of the Church of Rome,²⁴⁷ dismissing their doctrines as "sometimes useless, sometimes hurtful," their "design of assistance" as "at the best imperfect," and their "representment" as "too careless and loose for so severe an employment."²⁴⁸ More than that, he disclaims dependence upon them.²⁴⁹ *Holy Dying* does indeed differ somewhat in purpose from the *Ars moriendi*: to Taylor the craft of all crafts should be acquired during one's whole lifetime and exercised on his deathbed; and the work is, therefore, not a conduct book, but a somewhat long, highly-organized dissertation, marked by

²⁴⁴ According to Coleridge, who placed him among the four masters of early seventeenth-century literature, the others being Shakespeare, Bacon, and Milton (*CHL*, VII, 185).

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.* ²⁴⁶ To Richard Earl of Carbery.

²⁴⁷ Taylor is much less bigoted, though, than some other post-Reformation writers in the *Ars moriendi* tradition. His enumeration of sins in his Analysis of the Decalogue (ch. 4. S. 8) sounds like the lists given in Catholic prayer books for preparation for confession; and his twenty-four reasons why a sick man should make to his minister a confesison of his sins, "minute and particular" is almost entirely Catholic. ²⁴⁸ Ed. London, 1857, p. xx.

²⁴⁹ ". . . in this affair I was almost forced to walk alone" (*ibid.*)

what Miss White calls "expansive leisureliness," to be read over the years and carefully meditated upon.

The deuyll [says the *Crafte*] with all his myȝte is besy to auerte fully a man fro þe feiþe in [his] last ende or yf he may not þat, he laboriþe besily to make hym douȝt þerin . . . but manly þerfor and styffye and stedfastly abyde & perseuyr & dey in þe verrey feiþe . . .²⁵⁰

Let the sick man be careful [says Taylor] that he do not admit of any doubt concerning that which he believed and received from a common consent in his best health and days of election and Religion. For if the Devil can but prevail so far as to unfix and unrivet the resolution and confidence or fulness of assent, it is easy for him so to unwind the spirit, that from *why* to *whether or no*, from *whether or no* to *scarcely not*, from *scarcely not* to *absolutely not at all*, are steps of a descending and falling spirit; and whatsoever a man is made to doubt of by the weakness of his understanding in a sickness, it will be hard to get an instrument strong or subtle enough to reinforce and ensure: For when the strengths are gone by which Faith held, and it does not stand firm by the weight of its own bulk and great constitution, nor yet by the cordage of a tenacious root; then it is prepared for a ruin, which it cannot escape in the tempests of a sickness and the assaults of a Devil.²⁵¹

And so forth for six pages.

Although other differences between Taylor and the old *Ars* are noticeable—that he wrote with the presence of the clergyman at the sick bed very much in mind and that added to his abundant figures²⁵² his numerous quotations from the ancients²⁵³ give *Holy Dying* a luster not present in the earlier work—he cannot entirely disclaim a relationship with it; willy-nilly he is part of the *Ars moriendi* tradition. Familiar enough with it to see its flaws, he still was unable to write of death entirely free of it. Even more than the intitulation, the outline with which he prefaces his work calls up the *Ars moriendi*:

The Rule and Exercises of Holy Dying. In which are described the

²⁵⁰ *YW*, II, 408-9. ²⁵¹ 1857 ed., pp. 172-73.

²⁵² One or two of Taylor's figures should here be quoted: "A Repentance upon our deathbed is like washing the corse, it is cleanly and civil, but makes no change deeper than the skin" (1857 ed., p. 183). ". . . we must with all arts of the Spirit seize upon the present, because it passes from us while we speak, and because in it all our certainty does consist. We must take our waters as out of a torrent and sudden shower, which will quickly cease dropping from above, and quickly cease running in our channels here below . . ." (*ibid.*, pp. 17-18).

²⁵³ He quotes also from the Fathers, from Scotus, and once from Gerson.

MEANS and INSTRUMENTS of preparing ourselves and others respectively for a blessed Death; and the Remedies against the Evils and Temptations proper to the state of Sickness: Together with Prayers and Acts of Virtue to be used by Sick and Dying persons, or by others standing in their attendance. To which are added Rules for the Visitation of the Sick, and offices proper for that Ministry.

The five temptations, although not in the *Ars* series and not all in the same section of the text,²⁵⁴ are present with their *remedia*, or "considerations"; and devils and the angels struggle beside the dying in a quite orthodox manner.²⁵⁵ Taylor warns against dependence upon deathbed repentance²⁵⁶ and the uselessness of dying unwillingly,²⁵⁷ and condemns foolish fear at the sight of the minister in the sick room with some of the spirit of Gerson in his condemnation of those who do not make the sick aware of the gravity of their condition.²⁵⁸ As in the *Ars moriendi*, aid for the dying concludes with prayers, the last of which is to be said, as in the Catholic books, when the soul is leaving the body.²⁵⁹

Richard Baxter, Puritan and "chief of English Protestant schoolmen," shows in his *Treatise of Death* and, less surprisingly, in his masterpiece, the *Saint's Everlasting Rest*, little or no trace of the influence of the *Ars moriendi*.²⁶⁰ His *Christian Directory* (1673),²⁶¹ how-

²⁵⁴ Despair is first handled as part of impatience (1857 ed., p. 81) but in Chapter V is taken up again and treated at some length (*ibid.*, pp. 274 ff.). In the section on temptations Taylor confines himself to impatience and attachment, or lack of resignation.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 72-73.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

²⁵⁸ Taylor says, "Let the Minister of Religion be sent to not only against the agony of Death, but be advised with in the whole conduct of the Sickness. . . . It is a very great evil both in the matter of prudence and piety, that they [the sick] fear the Priest as they fear the Embalmer, or the Sexton's spade . . ." (*ibid.*, p. 237).

²⁵⁹ Another point of similarity might be the encouragement the dying are given by Taylor to cry out in their pain, as "when our blessed Savior suffered his last and sharpest pang of sorrow, he cried out with a loud voice, and resolved to die, and did so" (*ibid.*, p. 81). Complaints and shriekings and sharp groans in the sick are not, according to Taylor, any sign of impatience. Assheton's *Method of Devotion for Sick and Dying Persons* may have taken this point from *Holy Dying*. The *Ars moriendi* does not agree with George Strode, however, when he says that groans are more efficacious than prayers.

²⁶⁰ In his *Treatise of Death* (Lond., 1672) the purpose is not to prepare a man for dying, but to show wherein lies the enmity of this last enemy to be destroyed and how it is to be destroyed. Although there are paragraphs to tell how desperation should be met and patience acquired, the tone of the book is very little like that of the *Ars moriendi*. The chief difference between the *Saint's Everlasting Rest* and the *Ars moriendi* is that Baxter is speaking "only to those whose portion is heaven, whose hopes are there, and who have forsaken all to enjoy this glory." ²⁶¹ Vol. IV of his *Practical Works*.

ever, is definitely in the old tradition, although just as dyed-in-the-wool Protestant as the other two.

The last two chapters of the second part of the *Directory* (he calls the section "Christian Economics") are entitled "Directions for the Sick" and "Directions to the Friends of the Sick, that are about them." To prepare for death adequately, he says, the longest life is not too long; but there is also necessary a special preparation which he proposes to set down. So far, this is all in the *Ars moriendi* manner; at this point, however, he makes a distinction, altogether post-Reformation, between the handling of the ungodly sick and the godly sick, the unrepentant and the already sanctified. At least he has for the first wretched group some hope (in spite of his longish dissertation on the folly of late repentance); and he gets to work on them, directing them to discover, aided by minister or layman,²⁶² whether they are sanctified or not, and if not, to spur themselves on to sanctification by love of God. It is in the directions to be given to the sanctified for a safe departure that the book swings again into the *Ars moriendi* tradition. Besides in themselves suggesting the interrogations by urging the sick man to repentance, faith in Christ, love of God, reparation of wrongs, and forgiveness of enemies, they contain the five temptations, slightly out of their usual order and developed with the persuasive argument which Baxter used in his frequent controversy with men, but the five temptations of the *Ars moriendi*, given as a series, as they are in the original.²⁶³ Later in the *Christian Directory* Baxter offers twelve directions for resisting temptation, likewise based on reasoning, but these are evidently taken from another source. In fact, with the five temptations his borrowing from the *Ars* appears to cease—or else the changed guise of his borrowings makes them seem new. The blessed society into which the soul of Moriens was to be ushered is here not made up of the Blessed Virgin, the saints, and the angels, but of a large company of divines and writers, including Bernard, Savonarola, Calvin, Melanchthon, Mirandola, Latimer, Hooker, Perkins, Dodd, Parker, Ussher, and Hall, and, strangely,

²⁶² The layman is to be chosen only if it is necessary and if one has faith in him.

²⁶³ Satan, it is true, tortures the brain of the sick man by dialectic as he never did in the *Ars*. Impatience is discussed only briefly, and despair not fully. The source, however, seems to me certain.

Gerson, Tauler, and à Kempis. The *Ars moriendi* calls this life a prison, an exile, a burden, a sickness, a peril; yet the characterization is without the bitterness of Baxter's "wicked, malicious, cruel." Baxter advises the sick to secure the help of "some able, faithful guide and comforter," but in the lengthy instructions for this good friend he gives priority and emphasis to the need for a good physician,²⁶⁴ with the minister included somewhat perfunctorily afterward—perhaps a sign of the moderate Puritanism in the author. Furthermore, the bedside comforter must not only be honest with the sick man about his physical condition;²⁶⁵ he must also not flatter him with false persuasions that his state is safe when he is yet unsanctified.²⁶⁶ There is a note reminiscent, perhaps, of the CP author's favorite lament over the indifference, not of lay folk alone, but also of religious and devout men in Baxter's "Alas, how much skill doth such a work (aiding the dying) require! And how few Christian (that I say not, pastors) are fit for it!"

The purpose of John Kettlewell's *Death Made Comfortable; or, the Way to Die Well* (1695)²⁶⁷ is at least in part that of the *Ars moriendi*—to teach a man to go through the act of dying, to guide "his carriage and demeanor under his sickness" and "in his last extremities and the near approach of death . . . I have . . . given them directions what to do, and wherein to spend their care, through all the steps and progress of their sickness, from its first seizure to their departure." What follows, however, was not in the mind of the author of the *Ars*: I show them what will render their sick-bed carriage rewardable, and its sorrows tolerable and comfortable.²⁶⁸ How they are like to be most

²⁶⁴ Baxter warns the friends of the sick against saying that if his time has come there is no need for a physician.

²⁶⁵ Later, though, he says that a man should not be told under all conditions that he is doing to die.

²⁶⁶ Baxter uses much of the language of the doctrine of predestination. The sick man is to find the "marks of predestination" within himself. He is to show the "evidence of this evangelical righteousness." He is to give little sermons to those around him, one of them to enable his hearers to know the difference between the godly and the wicked.

²⁶⁷ John Kettlewell, vicar of Coles-hill in Warwick (1653-95), was a devotional writer and friend of Bishop Ken (see Anthony à Wood, *Historia et antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis*). The edition of *Death Made Comfortable* in the Union Theological Seminary Library is dated 1718 (London).

²⁶⁸ Baxter makes much of the desirability of a "comfortable" death.

easy to themselves, and may most profitably chuse or improve the company and employ and receive the services and kind offices of others. What they are to do, that they may die well, and be happy and full of comfort in their death, and after it; and how it is fit for them to part with all men, and take a decent and a Christian leave of this world.

The fifteenth-century author wanted to instruct men in the art of dying that they might save their souls, whether comfortably or no.

A sick man will be tempted against faith, says Kettlewell, after he professes it by reciting the Creed, although in the *Ars* the recitation was a *remedium* against Satan, not an impetus to fresh attack. Unlike Baxter, who would reason with the evil spirit unto his adversary's confusion, and like the author of the *Oorspronck* and St. Robert Bellarmine, Kettlewell would rout him by devotion rather than by disputation. No other assault of the devil is mentioned, but there are sections designed to lead the sick away from the four other pitfalls which in the *Ars moriendi* are handled as temptations.²⁶⁹

The Protestant tone of the book is strong,²⁷⁰ but it is without sectarianism or bigotry. "When a man is about to die," he says, "let him profess that he hopes for the acceptance of his faith and repentance in the unity and communion of Christ's Church, in which he dies; and particularly as a stedfast and sincere, though unworthy member of the Church* whose declared belief he professes," the asterisk indicating that the name of his own church be substituted.

One or two interesting points in Kettlewell are not found elsewhere in the tradition. The "admonisher" at the sick bed is given extra duties: to see to it that those present make no disturbance which would lengthen out the pains of the dying and molest his passage, and if they cannot control themselves to put them out; to let the sick man order his own funeral if he wants to; not to succumb to the temptation of diverting his spirits by "reading plays or romances, or foolish and undue ideas of love and honor," especially in slow and languishing diseases.

²⁶⁹ We must set ourselves to bear our sick-bed sorrows with thankfulness and without complaints. We must trust God with our nearest relations, children, friends, and dependents. There are prayers against fear and presumption.

²⁷⁰ A sick man should "complete his repentance" and "show forth his faith." The directions for making his will and for summoning a doctor are marked by "present-worldliness."

William Assheton,²⁷¹ rector of Beckenham in Kent and chaplain to James, duke of Ormond, to whom he dedicated his *Method of Devotion for Sick and Dying Persons* (before 1711),²⁷² states in the Preface that the prayers contained in it "are chiefly collected from the Publick Offices of Our Church. Or else from the Devotions of such venerable names as sufficiently recommend them to all regular and pious Christians." It is safe to say, then, that when he urges a sick man to bear his sickness with patience, to repent him truly of his sins, to be in charity with all the world, to have faith and trust in God, and to be willing to die, he is borrowing from some nonliturgical book, very probably from the temptations, or possibly the interrogations,²⁷³ of the *Ars moriendi*. Elsewhere, in something of the manner of the old *remedia* against the temptations,²⁷⁴ he suggests certain parts of the *Method of Devotion* for those troubled by impatience or despair or fear or worry over leaving wife and children. But to the original matter on patience he adds encouragement to sighs and groans, which are "the sick man's language"; and repentance does not follow the Catholic idea, but must be "compleat Repentance," to be achieved by reviewing the state of one's soul and perfecting his accounts with God.²⁷⁵

Assheton says in his Preface that he wishes to teach men how to behave at death, not only to God but also to their fellows, who are to profit evidently from their concern about restitution. This is perhaps some of the seventeenth-century "present-worldliness" found in devotional books of that period. At any rate, Assheton gives several pages to examples such as: "A. B. borroweth a sum of money from C. D. C. D., in confidence of his Friendship, lends A. B. the money without Bond or Note or any Witness of the Loan." After C. D. dies, A. B. denies having borrowed the sum. For such as A. B. is the em-

²⁷¹ (1641-1711). A learned man and a lover of books, but without much literary gift. He wrote voluminously, one of his works being *The Possibility of Apparition by a Divine of the Church of England*, occasioned by Defoe's Mrs. Veal hoax.

²⁷² Date of his death. The edition at Columbia University Library, the second, is dated 1718. Anthony à Wood does not mention his *Method of Devotion*.

²⁷³ In speaking of charity in forgiving, however, he makes reference to the English ritual.

²⁷⁴ Generally these were angelic inspirations against temptations, but many other kinds of *remedia* were introduced.

²⁷⁵ It follows that he thinks little of the value of death-bed repentance, but he advises those who have nothing else left, to "do what they can." In 1696 he wrote a *Discourse concerning a Deathbed Repentance*.

phasis on restitution necessary. All this is not odd in a man who worked out, as Assheton did, a system of life insurance for the widows of clergymen and others,²⁷⁶ but it sounds a little curious in a book in the *Ars moriendi* tradition. Another instance of the author's religious zeal combined with his more practical turn of mind is his suggestion that books like the *Method of Devotion* be given at funerals; they would be "much more reasonable Expressions, of Respect and Kindness, to the Memory of the Dead than some other Distributions."

BOOKS SHOWING SOME SMALL RELATIONSHIP

In addition to the Protestant books discussed in the foregoing pages others should be mentioned as being probably linked in one way or another with the *Ars moriendi*. Sometimes the relationship is seen in the intitulation. In the Folger Library a book, apparently unknown to bibliographers except Pollard,²⁷⁷ bears the title *A Treatysse to Teche a Man to Dye and not to feare Dete* (1538?).²⁷⁸ The *Salve for a Sicke Man* (1595),²⁷⁹ by William Perkins (1558–1602),²⁸⁰ was published in Latin at Hanover in 1603 with the title *Myrothecium: hoc est, De natura diversisque mortis generibus: et de ratione bene feliciterque moriendi, tractatus*.²⁸¹ Baxter recommends the work under the title "Right Art of Dying Well."²⁸² Neither of these books is apparently related to the *Ars moriendi* in any other way, although Perkins, "noted for outspoken resistance to all that savored of Roman usage in the matter of ritual," knew the *Ars* well enough to deplore the use of the interrogations in the care of the dying.²⁸³

²⁷⁶ See the account of Assheton's life in the *DNB*.

²⁷⁷ Pollard, *STC*, No. 24250.

²⁷⁸ "Imprinted at London in Fletestrete by one Roberte Redman dwellynge at the sygne of the George nexte to Saynt Dunstones church."

²⁷⁹ *Workes of William Perkins*, Vol. 1. There is a copy in the New York Library. The subtitle is: "A treatise containing the nature, differences, and kindes of death; as also the right manner of dying well. And It may serve for spiritual instruction to 1. Mariners when they goe to see. 2. Souldiers when they goe to battell. 3. Women when they travell of child."

²⁸⁰ For a recent discussion of Perkins see Louis B. Wright, "William Perkins: Elizabethan Apostle of 'Practical Divinity,'" *Huntington Library Quarterly*, III (1940), 171–96.

²⁸¹ Another work, evidently a companion piece, has the title *EYZ IA, hoc est, de bene beateque vivendi ratione Tractatus*. A volume containing both works is to be found in the Union Theological Seminary Library.

²⁸² *Christian Directory*, Pt. II, ch. xxxi, Direct. 7.

²⁸³ "Here I have occasion to mention a notorious fault, that is very common in this age, even among such as have long lived in the bosome of the Church; and that is: Men nowadays are so far from renewing their faith and repentance, that when they lie sicke and are

More frequently the link is the temptations. In the *Parable of the Wicked Mammon* (1527) William Tyndale made reference to deathbed tempting,²⁸⁴ and Hugh Latimer, in his sermon for the first Sunday after Epiphany (1552?), did the same.²⁸⁵ In Robert Cawdray's *Treasury; or, Storehouse of Similes* (1609)²⁸⁶ the devils at a deathbed are compared to enemies besieging a city,²⁸⁷ and a dying man, more refreshingly, to one who in shooting a gun misses because of a second of unsteadiness just before he pulls the trigger, "and all that he prepared for it before is in vain."²⁸⁸ Henry Ley Montagu,²⁸⁹ in his *Contemplatio mortis et immortalitatis* (1631), admits a dying man's leaning to impatience and despair, but suggests, in a modern way, that the cause may be not so much moral²⁹⁰ as physical. In *Things New and Old* (1658)²⁹¹ John Spencer quotes from Du Moulin's *De l'amour de Dieu* a story of a dying man who, confronted with the sins which the devil showed him "on every side" of a long parchment roll, dismissed the evil spirit by quoting from St. John. That Robert Herrick knew the *ars moriendi* material, temptations and interrogations and faithful friend, I find apparent in the following excerpt from "Hymn to the Holy Spirit."

When the passing bell doth toll,
And the Furies in a shoal
Come to fright a parting soul,
Sweet Spirit, comfort me!

drawing toward death, they must be catechized in the doctrine of faith and repentance, as if they had but been of late received into the church. Whosoever will, but as occasion is offered, visit the sick, shall find this to be true. . . . What a shame is this that when a man hath spent his life and dayes in the church . . . he should at the very end of all and not before, begin to inquire what faith and what repentance is, and how his soul might be saved. This one sinne argues the great security of this age and the great contempt of God and His church (1612 ed., p. 502).

²⁸⁴ Publications of the Parker Society, XXXII, 48.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, XX, 148-49. In both works the temptation to despair is overcome by steadfastness of faith. ²⁸⁶ Ed. Lond., 1868.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 98. ²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98.

²⁸⁹ Earl of Manchester. There is a copy in the Folger Library.

²⁹⁰ "Ravings and other strange passions are many times rather the effect of the disease than moving from the mind. For upon deaths approaches, choler fuming to the braine, will cause distempers in the most patient soule" and "Despaire in dying may arise as well from the weakenes of nature as from trouble of minde . . ." (101).

²⁹¹ Ed. Lond., 1868, p. 137.

When the tapers now burn blue,
 And the comforters are few,
 And that number more than true,
 Sweet Spirit, comfort me!

When the priest his last hath prayed,
 And I nod to what is said,
 'Cause my speech is now decayed,
 Sweet Spirit, comfort me!

When, God knows, I'm tossed about,
 Either with despair or doubt,
 Yet before the glass be out,
 Sweet Spirit, comfort me!

When the Tempter me purs'th
 With the sins of all my youth,
 And half damns me with untruth,
 Sweet Spirit, comfort me!

When the flames and hellish cries
 Fright mine ears, and fright mine eyes,
 And all terrors me surprise,
 Sweet Spirit, comfort me!²⁹²

Fuller, according to Charles Lamb, said, "The devil is most busy on the last day of his term; and a tenant to be ousted cares not what mischief he doth."²⁹³ Perkins added to the Latin text of his book on dying a "Corollarium posteriorum cogitationum," which begins: "Postremus cum diabolo conflictus in ipsis veluti faucibus mortis est periculosisimus omnium," continuing with discussions of temptations against faith and hope and offering John Knox's behavior in death under temptation as an example of good dying. B. Grosvenor, in his *Observations of Sudden Death* (1720), remarks that an advantage of sudden death lies in Satan's inability to tempt a man who is called without warning.

He is usually most impetuous when we have least Power to resist him.
 When Flesh and Heart fails, and the whole Man languishes upon a sick

²⁹² Professor Frank Allen Patterson has called my attention to the possibility of Herrick's having been influenced by the *Ars moriendi* in his uncomplimentary references to the physician in this hymn. In more than one of the lyrics in *Noble Numbers* Herrick shows an acquaintance with old Catholic books, especially the writings of the Fathers.

²⁹³ See E. R. Broadus's ed. of selections from Fuller, Oxford, 1928, p. 17.

bed, he makes dreadful Assaults upon many a one. Tempting them to distrust God. Endeavoring to darken all their Lights and Ravish their comforts from them. To disquiet their Mind, Satan comes down having great rage, because he knows his Time is but short . . .²⁹⁴

The energetic bishop of London, Beilby Porteus (1731-1808), won the Seatonian prize in 1759 for a poem on death,²⁹⁵ containing a fairly vivid description of the temptation to despair, which, since it does not mention the devil, is a sort of *psychomachia* at the sick bed:

Let no dark crimes
In all their hideous forms then starting up
Plant themselves round my couch in grim array,
And stab my bleeding heart in two-edg'd torture,
Sense of past guilt, and dread of future woe.
Far be the ghastly crew! and in their stead,
Let cheerful memory from her purest cells
Lead forth a goodly train of virtues fair,
Cherish'd in earliest youth . . .

In "The Deserted Village" the parson supplied the *remedia* when temptations came, one by one:

Beside the bed where parting life was laid,
And sorrow, guilt, and pain by turns dismayed,
The reverend champion stood. At his control
Despair and anguish fled the struggling soul;
Comfort came down the trembling wretch to raise
And his last faltering accents whispered praise. (ll. 171-76)

In a *Treatise on Death* (1635) Ninian Campbell writes a *descriptio mortis* in the manner of the CP author, but so elaborated as to seem finally nothing more than a *tour de force*.²⁹⁶ Thomas Adams, in the *Sick man's Passing Bell* (first half of the seventeenth century) praises the old custom of ringing the bell "when a languishing Christian draws near his end,"²⁹⁷ as the CP author praised the striking of the

²⁹⁴ P. 28. There is a copy at Columbia University Library.

²⁹⁵ "Death: a Poetical Essay." The lines are from Book III. Copies are plentiful.

²⁹⁶ Life is compared "to a passenger, to a walking, to a pilgrimage, to a race, to a port, to a chariot, to a whirligig, to a warfare, to a tabernacle . . . to a tennice court, to a weavers shuttle, to the dayes of a hireling . . . to an eagle in the aire, to a span or hand-breadth, to a smoak, to a blast," and so forth.

²⁹⁷ See the edition of his works made in Edinburgh, 1861-62, I, 331-32. He also laments

table.²⁹⁸ The English translation of *The Christian's Defence against the Fears of Death*,²⁹⁹ by Charles Drelincourt (1732),³⁰⁰ which contains "Seasonable Directions How to Prepare Ourselves to Die Well," quotes Aristotle (calling him "an inspired person") on the terribleness of death.³⁰¹

the fact that doctor and lawyer are sent for when a man is dying, but the physician of the soul stands outside the door (*ibid.*, p. 330). ²⁹⁸ The Introduction.

²⁹⁹ It was once thought that "*The Apparition of Mrs. Veal*" was a clever hoax to sell this book. During the apparition Mrs. Veal reminded Mrs. Bargrave of what comfort they had both received from "*Drelincourt's Book of Death*." To the fourth edition of the English translation of this work Defoe added the *Apparition* (1706). There is a copy in Low German at Columbia.

³⁰⁰ The edition of the English translation by Marius d'Assigny in the Columbia Library. Of the French version twenty editions were made in France and one in Avignon in the Pope's dominions, with the name of the author suppressed (see the Preface).

³⁰¹ A slender link, but I have only once or twice found the quotation in books not related to the *Ars moriendi*. It is useless to dwell on the numberless references to late repentance contained in Elizabethan and Stuart books, for so closely is this subject connected with the doctrine of predestination that even in the case of a work on dying like William Sherlock's *Practical Discourse concerning Death* I see no reason at all for supposing a relationship with the *Ars*.

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